

The Life and Works
of Rong-zom Paṇḍita

6

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PREFACE

This work presents the life and works of the eleventh century translator and scholar Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po. It is based on a catalogue written by the celebrated rNying-ma scholar 'Ju Mi-pham in 1904, after he had accomplished the editorial work for the first two-volume edition of *Rong-zom's Collected Writings* which was printed at rDzogs-chen monastery.

The thesis consists of three main parts. In the introduction I discuss the historical background pertinent to Mi-pham's catalogue and elucidate important points regarding the philosophical discussion included in the catalogue. Thereafter follows a critical edition with an annotated translation of Mi-pham's catalogue to the first two volumes. A descriptive catalogue to the later three-volume edition of *Rong-zom's Collected Writings*, provided with a general description and list of contents for each text, constitutes the third and final section.

I would like to first express my thanks to Penor Rinpoche who made my stay in the rNam-grol-gling monastery in Bylakuppe possible and who supported my studies with several Khenpos and assistant teachers at the Ngagyur Nyingma Institute. During my stay at the Institute I had the opportunity to attend regular classes, primarily with Khenpo Wangchuk Sonam and Gen Dorji Wangchuk, in which I was introduced to various unique doctrines of the rNying-ma-pas as well as to the literature of some important rNying-ma scholars including Rong-zom-pa, Klong-chen-pa and Mi-pham.

I also would like to thank Professor D. Jackson for his careful supervision of my work and for his most useful comments and suggestions. I would also like to thank Dr. F. K. Ehrhard for his helpful remarks.

I. MI-PHAM—THE AUTHOR OF THE CATALOGUE (*dkar chag*)¹

'Ju Mi-pham 'Jam-dbyang-rnam-rgyal-rgya-mtsho was born in 1846 (the fire-horse year) in Ya-chu Ding-chung on the bank of the river Yar-klungs in mDo-khams to a noble family of the 'Ju clan. Due to his extraordinary intellectual ability, he commenced his studies in philosophy, astronomy and astrology at a very young age, and is said to have perfectly mastered the art of reading and writing by the time he was nine years old when he started composing his first works.² At the age of eleven he entered the monastery 'Ju Me-hor gSangs-sngags-chos-gling³ where he continued his education in the various fields of knowledge. It is said that after he accomplished an eighteen-month practice of the Mañjuśrī sādhana, his intellectual capacity was increased to such an extent that he was able to understand all texts without any hindrance, and he thus came to be known as an emanation of Mañjuśrī himself.

In 1863, at the age of seventeen, he joined his maternal uncle on a pilgrimage tour to central Tibet during which he visited numerous holy places and monasteries, including the dGe-lugs head monastery of dGa'-ldan, where he stayed for one month. After completing the pilgrimage, he returned to Khams and resumed his studies. He studied under the great masters of that time among whom the prominent masters of the Ris-med movement—such as 'Jam-

¹ The biographical details on Mi-pham's life given here are based on 1) Mi-pham's biography in the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (translated in the NSTB Vol. 1, pp. 869-880), 2) Gene Smith's introduction to *Jamgon Mipham's Rablan* and 3) mKhan-po 'Jigs-med-phun-tshogs-'byung-gnas's *Kun mkhyen mi pham rgya mtsho la gsol ba 'debs tshul g.yul las rnam par rgyal ba'i rnga sgra*.

² His first philosophical work is believed to be the twenty-seven-folio *Nges shes rin po che'i sgron me (Mi pham bka' 'bum* Vol. 9 / Shrii, pp. 71-123). mKhan-po 'Jigs-med-phun-tshogs-'byung-gnas says (fol. 9a-b) that Mi-pham composed this work, which is written in verses, as an adjunct to his play, (i.e. while not playing), (*rtsed mo'i zhor la bris pa*) when he was seven years old. Since Mi-pham could not yet write, Lama Rin-chen-mgon-po of 'Ju acted as his scribe and wrote it down for him.

³ This monastery follows the tradition of sMin-grol-gling which is one of the six principal monasteries (*ma dgon drug*) of the rNying-ma School: rDo-rje-brag and sMin-grol-gling in the higher region (*stod*) of central Tibet, and in east Tibet Zhe-chen and rDzogs-chen in the intermediate region (*bar*) and Kaḥ-thog and dPal-yul in the lower region (*smad*).

dbyangs-mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po (1820-1892), 'Jam-mgon-kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas (1813-1899) and rDza dPal-sprul O-rgyan-'jigs-med-chos-kyi-dbang-po (1808-1887)—greatly influenced his education, and soon he became known as a renowned scholar well versed in all fields of knowledge. He wrote numerous texts on various subjects such as medicine, astrology, grammar and arts, but his most important works are his commentaries on the principal Indian treatises. Gene Smith describes Mi-pham as "one of the most imaginative and versatile minds to appear in the Tibetan tradition" and calls his commentaries "brilliant and strikingly original".⁴

Mi-pham's main concern was to revive the rNying-ma tradition and its profound teachings, many of which, he believed, had been either misinterpreted or forgotten. He often encouraged the rNying-ma-pas to study the old and genuine works of the tradition rather than the more recent, unauthentic works which did not represent the real rNying-ma philosophy. In his catalogue of *Rong-zom-pa's Collected Writings*⁵ he explicitly criticizes the so-called "adventitious doctrines" (*rdol chos*)⁶ which are often, he says, regarded by the common people as "timely doctrines", and further questions the credibility of authors of such texts who claim themselves to be "treasure-finders" (*gter ston*).⁷ Mi-pham applied himself to the study and to the

⁴ See pp. 6 and 7.

⁵ This work will be referred to in the following discussion as *dKar chag*.

⁶ The term *rdol chos*, though used here in a negative sense, could be interpreted in a positive sense as well, as for example bDud-'joms Rinpoche does in his *chos 'byung* when he uses the verb *rdol* to describe the natural outflow of doctrinal "treasures": "Doctrinal treasures will outflow from the sphere of the minds of sublime individuals." (*'phags pa'i gang zag rnam la dgongs pa'i klong nas chos kyi gter kha brdol du yod*) (bDud 'joms chos 'byung, p. 513₂) and "...In the Sūtra it is said: If one achieves the confidence of certainty regarding the meaning, one hundred thousand doctrinal treasures will burst forth from one's mind" (...*mdo las/ don la nges pa'i gding rnyed na// sems las chos gter 'bum phrag brdol//*) (bDud 'joms chos 'byung 514₆). However, this term is also used to express non-genuine, "adventitious" doctrines and is often used in the context of discussions of doctrinal "treasures" in the sense that Mi-pham uses in his *dKar chag*. Cf. also note 228.

⁷ See his *dKar chag*, pp. 23-24 (my translation, p. 100). This should not be understood as a criticism on the entire *gter* literature. The *gter* tradition as such was very dear to Mi-pham, and although Mi-pham himself is not formally known as *gter ston*, he is often considered by rNying-ma masters to be one: bDud-'joms Rinpoche describes him as "a supremely accomplished king among treasure-finders" (see translation in the NSTB Vol. 1, p. 880) and according to mKhan-po 'Jigs-phun (see his *gSol 'debs*, fol. 23a-b), Mi-pham himself said that all of his works are actually "mind-treasures" (*dgongs gter*) and that he never wrote even one verse without the approval of Mañjuśrī. Therefore, he says, his works are not "long lineage" teachings which have a slower effect but "short lineage" teachings which are quicker in their effectiveness. Mi-pham believed that such charlatans in guise of *gter stons* and their fake doctrines were a threat to the rNying-ma teachings in general and to the *gter* tradition in particular. This concern of his is reflected in his short work *gTer ston brtag pa pa chu*

propagation of the authentic old doctrines of the great masters of the past such as Rong-zom-pa, and at the same time engaged in numerous debates—whether in oral or written form—with scholars of the "new" schools (gSar-ma-pa), responding to their critique on the rNying-ma doctrines in general⁸ and to his controversial commentaries in particular. His unusual interpretation of the ninth chapter of the Bodhicaryāvatāra,⁹ his commentary on the Madhyamakālaṃkāra¹⁰ and his works on *gzhan stong*¹¹ ("emptiness-of-other" Madhyamaka) led to countless disputations, especially with advocates of the dGe-lugs tradition.¹² In this way, says bDud-'joms Rinpoche, Mi-pham "granted vital force to the teaching of the Conqueror, in general, and to the teaching of the Ancient Translation School, in particular, at the very point of [its] death".¹³ Yet Mi-pham himself said that in spite of his keen interest in reviving the rNying-ma doctrines and in spite of his engagement in various disputations for that purpose, he harboured neither hostility towards the other

dwangs nor bu (Mi pham bka' 'bum Vol. 14 / Ca, pp. 236-242) in which he analyses the characteristic of a genuine *gter ston*.

⁸ The [sNga-'gyur]-mnying-ma School or the "Old School [of the Early Translations]" relies, as implied by its name, on the translations of the period of the "early propagation" (*snga dar*). The three inner tantras (*nang rgyud sde gsum*) are of paramount importance to this tradition, and their presence is what makes this school unique. The other schools which rely on the translations of the period of the "later propagation" are referred to as the "New Schools" (gSar-ma). While the new translations of the later period were criticized by the rNying-ma-pas as being technical translations which do not reflect the accurate meaning of the original texts, the authenticity of some of the old tantras such as the *Guhyagarbha* (see the *Descriptive Catalogue*, general description to no. 1-3) were questioned by the new schools and the rNying-ma-pas were accused of having too literally interpreted certain doctrines such as the *shyor sgrol* practice. This led to a long disputation between the "old" and the "new schools" and came to be the subject of numerous polemical works (see, for example, the NSTB Vol. 1, pp. 883-940).

⁹ *Shes rab le'u'i tshig don go sla bar rnam par bshad pa nor bu ke ta ka* (Mi pham bka' 'bum Vol. 14, pp. 1-48).

¹⁰ *dBu ma rgyan gyi rnam bshad 'jam dbyangs bla ma dgyes pa'i zhal lung* (Mi pham bka' 'bum Vol. 13, pp. 1-208).

¹¹ For example, *gZhan stong khas len seng ge'i nga ro* (Mi pham bka' 'bum Vol. 12 / Ga, pp. 359-399).

¹² mKhan-po 'Jigs-phun says (fol. 16a₂-16b₃) that the conflict escalated so much that at one point there was a large gathering of all the monks of the three dGe-lugs monasteries—Se-ra, dGa'-ldan and 'Bras-spungs—where numerous wrathful rites and expulsion rituals (*drag las mang po dang/ zab mdo'i bzlog pa*) were performed in order to harm Mi-pham. As a result of their practicing these rites, many were badly harmed and some even died. After consulting the *gNas-chung* oracle, the thirteenth Dalai Lama, Thub-bstan-rgya-mtsho (1876-1933), sent many messengers to ask forgiveness from Mi-pham who—being protected by Yamāntaka—had not been harmed at all.

¹³ Translated by G. Dorji and M. Kapstein in the NSTB Vol. 1, p. 877.

traditions nor pride in his own, and any engagement in debate or criticism was undertaken only out of the pure intention of serving the Doctrine.¹⁴

He spent the last part of his life in a thirteen-year retreat in dKar-mo-stag-tshang where he applied himself to composing texts and to cultivating the Stages of Generation and Perfection of tantric meditation. He left the retreat on the thirteenth day of the first month in the water-mouse year (1912), and shortly thereafter, sensing his impending death, wrote his testament and concealed it. On one occasion, while giving instructions to his attendant, Lama 'Od-gsal, he stated that he was not an ordinary human being but a Bodhisattva who took birth in order to benefit living beings, and since he could see no benefit in taking another birth in this degenerated time did not intend to do so and would instead stay in the pure realms.¹⁵ The blessing of his teachings, however, would keep on increasing during the next seven generations. He went on to say that out of fear that no one would believe him regarding this, he had not disclosed it before. Not much later, on the twenty-ninth day of the fourth month of that year, at the age of sixty-seven, he passed away.

Mi-pham is one of the most celebrated scholars of the rNying-ma school, and his numerous works were and continue to be studied extensively in all the rNying-ma monastic colleges; at the present time, they receive even more attention than the works of any other rNying-ma scholars.¹⁶

¹⁴ Cf. the NSTB Vol. 1, p. 877.

¹⁵ I have not been able to find a list of Mi-pham's previous embodiments. Nevertheless, mKhan-po 'Jigs-phun relates (fol. 8a) that once Mi-pham debated with Zhe-chen rGyal-tshab Rinpoche; Mi-pham represented the Bon-po religion while Zhe-chen Rinpoche the Buddhist views. Just before starting the debate Mi-pham said that among his previous embodiments were the Indian masters Saraha and Dipaṅkara, the Tibetan translator Cog-ro-klu'i-rgyal-mtshan, and for some special reasons also one Bon-po priest. In the passage on his liberated career as a scholar (*mkhas pa'i rnam thar*), mKhan-po 'Jigs-phun says that Mi-pham was an embodiment of the Six Ornaments and the Two Excellences, of Rong-zom and of Klong-chen-pa, Sa-paṅ and Tsong-kha-pa (*'jam dbyangs rnam gsum*) (fol. 25a). Although Mi-pham explicitly stated that he would not be reborn, there have been several rebirths recognised since his death. Gene Smith, in his introduction to *Kongtrul's Encyclopaedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture* (p. 78) indicates three of them: 1) Zhe-chen Mi-pham, a grandnephew of 'Ju Mi-pham, 2) Tshe-dbang-bdud-'dul (1915-1942), the last prince of sDe-dge and 3) Khyung-po Mi-pham, an incarnation recognized by mKhyen-brtse 'Jam-dbyangs-chos-kyi-blo-gros.

¹⁶ *Mi-pham's Collected Writings* which consist of thirty-two volumes was catalogued by D. Schuh in the series *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Band XI, 5, 1973.

II. RONG-ZOM CHOS-KYI-BZANG-PO THE SCHOLAR

Rong-zom-pa,¹⁷ a rNying-ma scholar and translator, was active sometime in the eleventh century, a period marked by growing activities of the the later propagation of Buddhism in Tibet.¹⁸ Rong-zom-pa is said to have translated many texts, especially tantras, including some of the so-called new tantras, and to have written numerous works on a wide range of subjects. He was known for his great knowledge of Sanskrit and other Indian languages, his perfect command of grammar and, more than anything else, his profound understanding of the tantras of the Great Perfection.

Rong-zom-pa is often referred to, by Tibetan and Western scholars as well, as one of the most significant rNying-ma scholars. Nevertheless, until not long ago he was seldom cited or relied upon, and then only by a few rNying-ma scholars like Klong-chen-pa (1308-1363) and 'Jigs-med-gling-pa (1730-1798). As Mi-pham states in his *dKar chag*, Rong-zom-pa's works became very rare,¹⁹ and, in fact, only a few of them, such as his extensive *Guhyagarbha-tantra* commentary, were actually studied, and that too only by a limited number of scholars.²⁰ This is most probably also the reason why Western scholars have to date paid little attention to Rong-zom-pa and his works.

¹⁷ Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po, whose name often appears in colophons, etc. in its Sanskrit translation as Dharmabhadra, is also referred to as Rong-zom Mahāpaṇḍita, the Guru of Rong (*bla ma rong pa*) and the Great Tibetan Translator (*bod kyi lo tsā ba chen po*) Chos-kyi-bzang-po. I have chosen to use the name Rong-zom-pa, following Mi-pham in his *dKar chag*.

¹⁸ The period of the early propagation began in the seventh century with the Dharma king Srong-btsan-bsgam-po, and was at its peak in the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century. During the reign of King Lang Darma (reigned 838-842), Buddhism was vigorously persecuted, and the activities for the propagation of Buddhism decreased. The later period began in the first half of the eleventh century. The translator Rin-chen-bzang-po (958-1055), who returned from India in 978, is considered to be the first translator of this new period whereas Rong-zom-pa—although he was active in the new period and translated many of the new tantras as well—is considered by some rNying-ma-pas to be the last translator of the early period, not from a temporal point of view but rather for doctrinal reasons (see, for example, the xylograph colophon of the entire RZSB in the *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 122-126).

¹⁹ See *dKar chag*, p. 16 (my translation, p. 93).

²⁰ More recently, for example, the curriculum of the Ngagyur Nyingma Institute at rNam-grol-gling monastery in Bylakuppe, which is the largest rNying-ma monastic college nowadays, includes only two of Rong-zom-pa's works: *lTa phreng 'grel* and *sNang ba lhar bsgrub*.

In the following section, I shall initially outline Rong-zom-pa's works and then describe the efforts made in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to revive this old textual tradition.

A. RONG-ZOM-PA'S WORKS

Rong-zom-pa is said to have written a large number of works—some say about sixty volumes or more.²¹ The only early record which provides us with a nearly complete list of Rong-zom-pa's works is Rong-pa Me-dpung's *rJe dharma bha dras mdzad pa'i chos kyi rnam grangs gyi tho yig*.²² According to this source, it was widely known during Rong-zom-pa's time that the works composed by him were altogether equivalent to a hundred thousand ('bum) ślokas.²³ Nevertheless, Rong-pa Me-dpung reports, the works which are actually known make up altogether more than a hundred and twenty-eight thousand (*bka' rgyas 'bring gsum*)²⁴ ślokas, and he adds that there are countless other works which have been lost in the course of time.²⁵

Rong-pa Me-dpung mentions only the generally known works and describes them quite briefly. The works included in his list total more than three hundred and sixty and are indicated by either what seem to be their titles or by their general topics.²⁶ Moreover, the considerable use of words such as "etc." (*la sogs pa*), "and innumerable others" or "and numerous other texts exist" (*la sogs mtha' yas* or *gzhan yang yi ge mang du yod*) in many of the

²¹ See Mi-pham's *dKar chag*, p. 8 (my translation, p. 85).

²² Henceforth *Tho yig*. For the structure of the texts and the detailed list, see the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 3-A, and Appendix A respectively.

²³ Śloka is used here as a measure for calculating the length of a literary work. It is equivalent to either four lines (*pāda*, *rkang*) of verse or to thirty-two syllables in prose. Since Rong-zom-pa wrote most, if not all, of his works in prose, the word "śloka" should be understood here as equivalent to thirty-two syllables.

²⁴ This method of measurement refers to the three *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras* which are commonly referred to as the "three mothers—extensive, intermediate and condensed" (*yum rgyas 'bring bsdus gsum*). These sūtras comprise 100,000, 20,000 and 8,000 verses, respectively.

²⁵ See the *Tho yig*, fol. 324b; this sentence should be of course understood in the context of his time (twelfth century?).

²⁶ Since the titles of Rong-zom-pa's works, unlike other titles of other authors which normally include also a poetical short title, are mostly a mere description of the subject matter, it is often difficult to say when the list provides us with the original titles and when we simply have a description of the subject matter.

passages implies the existence of a larger number of Rong-zom-pa's works known to him. Those desiring a detailed description of this master's works, he says, should be aware that there still exist various works in different places from La-stod²⁷ and Ong-po up to Khams and deep in (*gting*) Kong-po.²⁸ He also states that there are many works which are not included in his list such as works on the teaching lineages or which deal with offering rituals (*brgyud yig* or *tshogs yig*).²⁹

Rong-zom-pa is said to have written on a wide range of topics which were concerned not only with religious matters or with the various fields of the secular sciences such as grammar and logic, but also with mundane matters such as agriculture and animal husbandry. No work of such mundane genres seems to have been survived. He is also believed to be the author of the first Tibetan "history of religion" (*chos 'byung*), of which only fragments are still available.³⁰ There are only a few texts dealing with quasi-mundane matters which have been preserved. These are his work on casting *sā-tstsa* and that on building stūpas, both of which can be classified under the category of "arts" or "the science of construction" (*bzo rig*), and his text—or, rather, text fragments—on cremation. The works listed by Rong-pa Me-dpung are primarily writings on religio-philosophical topics or manuals for various rituals. As already mentioned, the list does not always contain the exact titles of the works, but rather provides us either with short titles or with short descriptions of the texts—specifying the topic, the numbers of texts pertaining to this topic and the length of texts. It also seems that he does not necessarily mention each work only once, but rather classifies the works, or even parts of them, into the different categories they might fit—or at least into some of them. He lists, for example, the *lTa 'phreng 'grel* under both the categories of "works on the foundation of the appearances" (*snang gzhi*) and of "works on

²⁷ A place in the district of Ding-ri which is located in western gTsang province, far to the south-west of Lhasa. Its southern part reaches the border of Nepal.

²⁸ A district to the south-east of Lhasa along the upper part of the Nyang river.

²⁹ See the *Tho yig*, fol. 329a.

³⁰ See van der Kujip 1996, p. 4,6 and Ehrhard 1990, p. 97, note 51. D. Martin 1997, p. 25, says that this was "little more than an outline" of the seven lineages of transmission (*babs bdun*) of the old tantras.

the foundation of the truth" (*bden gzhi*).³¹ It is thus difficult to estimate exactly how many works are actually referred to in this list.

Following a short introduction, Rong-pa Me-dpung first mentions the three main sets of works written by Rong-zom-pa on the three trainings (*bslab pa gsum*)³² and then lists Rong-zom-pa's works according to seven categories which he often subdivides:³³

1. Works on the nine main elements of the tantra (*dnegos po dgu*)³⁴
2. Works on the ten types of thatness (*de nyid bcu*)³⁵
3. Works on the ten types of training systems (*bslab mtha' bcu*)³⁶
4. Works on the four branches of Ritual Service and Evocation (*bsnyen bsgrub yan lag bzhi*)

³¹ See Appendix A, nos. 6.1.1.2. and 6.1.2.8.

³² On these three sets of works, see Appendix A, paragraph I.

³³ In fact he divides them—allegedly according to the Mantrayāna system—into four categories putting the first six categories, for a reason which is unclear to me, in three groups of two so that the seventh category forms the fourth group of works. He further explains that when each element is counted separately rather than in groups, one attains forty elements all together: 9 + 10 + 10 + 4 + 3 + 3 + 1; others, he says, count only thirty-nine elements, excluding the last category of works on the differences between the Sūtrayāna and the Mantrayāna. Since in his list he refers to each of the seven categories mentioned by him in the first division into four groups separately, I have chosen to present the list here accordingly.

³⁴ These are the *maṇḍala* (*dkyil 'khor*), tantric commitments (*dam tshig*), attainment (*sgrub pa*), empowerment (*dbang*), enlightened activities (*phrin las*), *mantra* (*sngags*), *mūdrā* (*phyag rgya*), concentration (*ting nge 'dzin*) and *pūja* (*mchod pa*). According to Mi-pham, the first five are the five main elements (*gzhi rnam pa lnga*) and the last four are the ancillary elements (*yan lag bzhi*) (see '*Od gsal snying po*', p. 65). This classification into nine elements is peculiar to Rong-zom-pa. Other rNying-ma scholars such as rDo-grub bsTan-pa'i-nyi-ma in his *gSang snying spyi don mdzod kyi lde mig* (p. 132) and Mi-pham in his '*Od gsal snying po*' (p. 65) classify ten and eleven elements, respectively. See also the next two notes.

³⁵ According to the NSTB (Vol. 2, p. 164), *rgyud kyi dnegos po bcu* is the same as *rgyud kyi de nyid bcu*. The ten elements or categories specified there closely resemble the nine elements specified by Rong-zom-pa.

³⁶ In his '*Od gsal snying po*' (p. 65) Mi-pham states that *rgyud kyi dnegos po bcu gcig* is equivalent to *bslab mtha' bcu gcig*. Taking this and the NSTB (see the above note) into consideration, the first three categories—that of the (nine) main elements of the tantra, of (ten) types of reality, and that of the (ten) types of training systems—must be almost equivalent given that the classifications of the different authors differ only slightly, and primarily in the number of the elements. If this is the case, one may ask then what the difference between these three categories actually is. Since none of the works mentioned in the second and third categories have survived, it is not possible to give a definite answer to this question. Relying on the little information provided by Rong-pa Me-dpung, the differentiation might be based on Rong-zom-pa's perspective or rather on the sources his works are based upon. Since Rong-pa Me-dpung mentions various texts in the first category, the division into nine elements might be understood as applicable to tantra in general while the second and third categories might be understood from the perspective of the *Illusionary Net of Vairocana* (*rNam snang sgyu drwa*) and the [*Sūtra that*] *Gathers All* (*Kun 'dus*), respectively, (compare the detailed list in Appendix A).

5. Works on the three conducts (*spyod pa gsum*)
6. Works on the three levels: foundation, path and fruit (*gzhi lam 'bras bu gsum*)
7. Works on the common and special features (*thun mong khyad par*)

This manner of classification is clearly not a common one. Since he chooses to limit his list to mostly religio-philosophical works, a classification method according to the five fields of science, as is sometimes the case in classification of Tibetan literature, could obviously not serve his purpose. One might expect a subject-based classification like that given in the various editions of the *bKa' gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur* or one in the manner collected writings (*gsung 'bum* or *bka' 'bum*) of other Tibetan masters are commonly arranged—for example according to Tantra, Sūtra, Vinaya, Prajñāpāramitā, etc.³⁷ Such methods of arranging literature, however, seem to have been developed only at a later time and most probably were not customary in Rong-pa's time. Nevertheless, it is difficult to know what Rong-pa Me-dpung's reason for his arrangement was and whether this system was—at least under the advocates of the Old School—common during his time. One may assume that he oriented himself according to the works of Rong-zom-pa that were available to him at the time of the preparation of the list. In some cases, however, it is not clear why he chose to classify a certain text under a certain category: the classification, for example, of works on [long] life ceremony (*tshe chog*) under the category of "Great Evocation" or of works on cremation under the category of "the conduct of spontaneous attainments" (*grub pa'i spyod pa*).³⁸ It is also unclear why he chose not to add the lineages and the works on offerings in his list, since they may certainly be included in a collection of religio-philosophical literature.

In spite of the incompleteness and not always perfect arrangement of the list, it nevertheless reveals some important facts regarding Rong-zom-pa's works. It indicates, for instance, that Rong-zom-pa tended to write sets of works which varied in their length on a certain topic. Rong-pa Me-dpung

³⁷ Cf. J. Cabezón and R. Jackson 1996, pp. 20ff.

³⁸ Cf. Appendix A, paragraphs 4.4.7. and 5.3.12. respectively.

mentions, for example, twelve such sets of two—short and long—and thirteen such sets of three—short, intermediate and long.³⁹ The only complete set of this kind available to us at present is the three *Guhyagarbha* commentaries.⁴⁰ Some single texts of these sets, however, have survived—mostly the long ones. These are normally indicated by the word *chen po* or *chen mo*.⁴¹

Another matter of interest is the genre terminology used by Rong-zom: For commentarial works we often find the word '*grel pa* which is commonly translated as "commentary" and which—in comparison to words such as *spyi don*, *bsdus 'grel*, *dka' 'grel*, *tshig 'grel*, etc.—does not normally provide much information on the commenting methods used by the author. These works are, for example, the long *Guhyagarbha* commentary, the commentaries on the *Buddhasamāyoga* (*mnyam sbyor*),⁴² *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (*mtshan brjod*), *Man ngag lta 'phreng* and *sMra sgo*.⁴³ Two further commentarial sub-genres used often by Rong-zom are *khog dbub* (or *khog 'bub*) and *stong thun*.⁴⁴ Rong-pa mentions five works entitled *khog 'bub*⁴⁵ (and three entitled *khog*) of which only two are known to us at present—the short and intermediate

³⁹ Two-work and three-work sets occur most frequently. Nevertheless, he mentions also three four-work sets, five seven-work sets, etc.

⁴⁰ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, nos. 1-1, 1-2 and 1-3.

⁴¹ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, nos. 2-2, 2-3, 2-10 and 2-18.

⁴² In the RZSB this commentary is indicated as *dka' 'grel*, a certain type of commentary which elucidates the difficult points. Whether it was originally titled in this way or whether it was classified so by the editors of the RZSB is uncertain. The authenticity of the titles of Rong-zom-pa's works as they appear in the RZSB or elsewhere might be questioned in many other cases as well.

⁴³ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, nos. 1-3, 3-1, 1-6, 1-5 and 3-4, respectively.

⁴⁴ The *Tshig mdzod chen mo* explains *khog 'bub* or *khog 'bubs* as a commentarial work which gives the general outline of the text (*dpe cha'i gzhung don spyi khog 'bubs pa*) by systematizing its content (*khog sgrig ste go rim sgrig pa*). The word *khog* literally means "the inside", "the interior" or "the inner space" and the verb '*bubs* "to put on a roof, to pitch a tent, to erect a pavilion" (see also D. Martin, 1977, p. 14). According to S. G. Karmay, most of the works known as *khog 'bubs* are texts which deal with the establishment of the *rGyud bzhi* as a canonical work. However, this genre, as stated by Karmay, "is by no means peculiar to this tradition, but it came to be used in the sense of an exposition dealing particularly with the historical aspect of the *rGyud bzhi*." (See S. G. Karmay in *Tibetan Medicine* No. 12, 1989). D. Jackson has informed me that in the Lam-'bras tradition a *khog bub* is a religious history (*chos 'byung*) or a general history (*lo rgyus*). The *Tshig mdzod chen mo*'s definition of *stong thun* is: a summary of thousands of essential points into classes (*gnad don stong phrag du ma thun thun du bsdus pa ste*), i.e., a general commentary (*spyi don*). It is translated, for example, as "quintessential elucidation" by D. Jackson (1987) and as "digest" by J. Cabezon (1992).

⁴⁵ The list reads *khog 'bugs*.

commentaries of the Guhyagarbhatantra⁴⁶—and two works entitled *stong thun* of which only one is available nowadays.⁴⁷

Another commentarial technique used by Rong-zom is the "brief-and-extensive" method. The works included thereunder present the subject matter in, as the name indicates, both a brief and extensive manner. Out of thirty-three such works listed by Rong-pa, only one has survived.⁴⁸ In addition, Rong-zom-pa also often employs a "summarizing technique" (*mdor bsdus*), which is in most cases already indicated in the title of the work.⁴⁹ While Rong-pa mentions four "memorandums" (*brjed byang*) and "numerous treatises" (*śāstra*, *bstan bcos*) on grammar, only two "memorandums" and one grammatical work are included in *Rong-zom's Collected Writings*, along with one "exposition" (*rnam bshad*) and one "note" (*bca' yig*)⁵⁰ regarding the tantric commitments.⁵¹ A number of works (seven) bear the simple designation "text" (*yi ge*), thereby not disclosing any information on the technique or style of composition.⁵²

B. STYLE OF COMPOSITION

Unlike many later autochthonous Tibetan works, most of Rong-zom-pa's works lack a distinct topical outline according to contents (*sa bcad*). Although the *sa bcad* technique was already being utilized during Rong-zom-pa's time, he obviously preferred—as can be clearly seen in almost all of his works—to adopt the so-called "interconnections (of words and topics)" (*mtshams sbyor*) method commonly used by Indian authors,⁵³ in contrast to the *sa bcad* method

⁴⁶ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, nos. 1-1 and 1-2.

⁴⁷ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 2-9.

⁴⁸ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 3-2.

⁴⁹ See, for example, the *Descriptive Catalogue*, nos. 2-6, 2-7 and 2-8. The abbreviated title of text no. 2-12 reads *dBang don bsdus pa*.

⁵⁰ I have translated the word *bca' yig* here as "note" and not as "constitution", since the word "constitution" seems to be unsuitable for this work, which does not have the usual structure and contents of a *bca' yig*. Cf. T. Ellingson's *Tibetan Monastic Constitution: The bCa'-yig*.

⁵¹ See, for example, the *Descriptive Catalogue*, nos. 2-3 and 2-19, 2-1, 2-6, and 3-3, respectively.

⁵² The RZSB includes five such texts; see the *Descriptive Catalogue*, nos. 2-11, 2-13, 2-15, 2-18 and 3-3.

⁵³ "Interconnections (of words and topics)" (*mtshams sbyor*) is one of the five elements to be included in an exposition as stated in Vasubandhu's *Vyākhyāyukti* (*rNam bshad rigs pa*, T 4061, Vol. *shi*, fol. 30b₃); the other four are the purpose (*dgos pa*), the summarized meaning (*bsdus pa'i don*), the meaning of the words (*tshig don*) and objections and replies (*brgal lan*).

relied upon by Tibetan scholars which most probably had its origin in China.⁵⁴ In his long works, there can usually be found a brief description of the topics in either the introductory or the concluding part, sometimes even in both. Some of the extensive works are divided into chapters, while the short works are often not subdivided at all.

The fact that Rong-zom-pa's style of composition (*rtsom gshis*) resembles that of the Indian scholars caused Mi-pham to suspect that some of Rong-zom-pa's works that lack an author colophon could have been mistaken for works of Indian scholars and therefore been included in the *bsTan 'gyur*.⁵⁵

In his *grub mtha'* texts and in some of his other philosophical works,⁵⁶ Rong-zom-pa presents the various tenet systems in the traditional hierarchical way of starting with a brief survey of the non-Buddhist schools and continuing with a more detailed survey of the nine Buddhist Vehicles.⁵⁷ In describing the nine Vehicles he elaborates more extensively as he goes "higher and higher", so that the most comprehensive explanation concerns that of the Great Perfection and sometimes makes up the larger part of the text.⁵⁸ In this context, the terms he uses in his presentation of the Madhyamaka schools are of special interest: Rong-zom-pa still uses the terms *sautrāntika-madhyamaka* and *yogācāra-madhyamaka*, classifications which were in use during the early propagation period, and does not mention the terms *svātantrika* and *prasaṅgika*, although these terms were already being employed by some Tibetan scholars in the eleventh century.⁵⁹

Regarding the composition style of Rong-zom-pa, Karmay says (1988, p. 133) that he "writes in a veritable *śāstra* style of which he seems to be very fond".

⁵⁴ Cf. Jackson 1994, pp. 3-4. (Jackson states (p. 23, note 14) that according to Steinkellner 1989, some of Chinese works in which the *sa bcad* technique were used were translated into Tibetan already by the first half of the ninth century.)

⁵⁵ See his *dKar chag*, p. 37 (my translation, p. 116).

⁵⁶ For example his *Man ngag la phreng gi 'grel ba*, *Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa, lTa ba'i brjed byang chen mo* and *Grub mtha' brjed byang*; see the *Descriptive Catalogue*, nos. 1-5, 2-1, 2-3 and 2-19, respectively.

⁵⁷ The theory of the nine Vehicles is a peculiar theory of the rNying-ma-pas. For a short presentation of the nine Vehicles, see, for example, the translators' introduction in the NSTB Vol. 1, pp. 23-39; for selected literature in Tibetan, see, for example, Ehrhard 1982, p. 106, n. 27.

⁵⁸ Cf. Hopkins 1996, p. 174.

⁵⁹ Some works of both the so-called Svātantrika and Prasaṅgika schools were already translated during the early propagation period (cf. Ruegg 1981, p. 85). Nevertheless, the advocates of these two different interpretations of the Madhyamaka philosophy did not actually designate themselves by either of these terms, and it was only later that they were labelled in one way or another (see *ibid.*, pp. 58-59). It seems that they were used for the first

III. THE REVIVAL OF RONG-ZOM-PA'S TEXTUAL TRADITION

A. THE COMPILATION OF RONG-ZOM-PA'S WORKS

Unfortunately, most of Rong-zom-pa's works have not been preserved. Moreover, the texts accessible to us at present were until the beginning of the twentieth century very rare and existed most probably only in manuscript form in private collections. The first scholar to systematically collect Rong-zom-pa's works was gZhan-phan-mtha'-yas (b. 1800), who was one of the main revivors of the rNying-ma traditions of teaching and practice,⁶⁰ and who had a keen interest, like some other Tibetan lamas and scholars of his time, in collecting and preserving rare texts.⁶¹ He searched throughout Tibet for Rong-zom-pa's works and instigated the work of printing the texts he discovered, which at that time amounted to two volumes. In his *dKar chag*, Mi-pham mentions twenty-nine of Rong-zom-pa's works compiled by gZhan-phan-pa, excluding the intermediate commentary on the *Guhyagarbha-tantra* (*Khog 'bub 'bring po*), and one by his reincarnation gZhan-phan-chos-kyi-snang-ba.⁶² Unfortunately, gZhan-phan-pa was not able to complete the project, and the printing work remained unfinished for many years after his death. His reincarnation gZhan-phan-chos-kyi-snang-ba finally asked Mi-pham, not before the summer of 1904, to undertake the proofreading and the remaining editorial work. Mi-pham, who, as he states in the *dKar chag*, had himself wanted to bring Rong-zom-pa's works into print for a long time, agreed to do the necessary work. In the same year, upon the completion of the editorial work for the texts available to him, Mi-pham wrote the catalogue to this two-volume edition of *Rong-zom's Collected Writings*. A third volume was compiled some time later, and it seems that, on the basis of the two volumes edited by Mi-pham and later printed in

time by Pa-tsab Nyi-ma-grags (b. 1055) when he made extensive translations of the texts of Candrakīrti (on the origin of these terms, see Lopez 1987, pp. 56ff.). See also Karmay, 1988, pp. 149-150.

⁶⁰ For his biography and a short description of his activities, see Mi-pham's *dKar chag*, pp. 16-21 (my translation, pp. 93-98).

⁶¹ See D. Jackson 1994, p. 8.

⁶² D. Jackson has informed me that this was not gZhan-dga' but rather the identically named Tulku at rDzogs-chen monastery who was a "great meditator" (*sgom chen*) and not a scholar.

Shrī-seng, a new edition of the entire *Collected Writings*—this time most probably a three-volume edition—was then printed. Gene Smith reports that he was informed by sDe-gzhung Rinpoche that an edition of the *Rong-zom Collected Writings*, most likely the aforementioned new edition, was printed at the [sDe-dge] dGon-chen during the time of rDzong-gsar mKhyen-brtse 'Jam-dbyangs-chos-kyi-blo-gros (1893-1959).⁶³ This edition, which was prepared at the behest of Kaḥ-thog Si-tu Chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho (1880-1925), a rNying-ma/Ris-med master, was made from a manuscript from the lHo-brag Nyi-lde-dgon.⁶⁴ The xylographs of both these editions seem to have been destroyed during the Cultural Revolution⁶⁵ and a third edition of the three-volume *Collected Writings* was prepared under the supervision of a person called Padma-kun-grol⁶⁶ at Shrī-seng, rDzogs-chen monastery.

B. MI-PHAM'S REVITALISATION OF RONG-ZOM-PA'S WORKS

Mi-pham played a pivotal role in the revival of Rong-zom-pa's textual tradition by carrying out the editorial work for the *Collected Writing* which enabled its printing, and—perhaps primarily—by carefully studying Rong-zom-pa's works and integrating them into his own works. Due to his interest in reviving the pure traditions of the rNying-ma school, it was only natural that Mi-pham put forth great effort to revive Rong-zom-pa's textual tradition which, as he says in his *dKar chag*—unlike the "adventitious doctrines" (*rdol chos*)—is pure like melted gold.

Mi-pham was convinced that Rong-zom-pa's views genuinely represented the authentic philosophical tradition of the rNying-ma-pas. Mi-pham was both impressed and inspired by Rong-zom-pa's sense of reasoning and by his ability to present and establish the philosophical ideals of the Great Perfection through

⁶³ According to Gene Smith, however, this edition is not mentioned in the *par tho* for the sDe-dge printery published by L. Chandra.

⁶⁴ See Gene Smith 1969a Vol. 2, p. 200, and David Jackson 1994, pp. 9-10. Jackson suggests that Kaḥ-thog Si-tu might have been the one responsible for the third volume.

⁶⁵ See the xylograph colophon to the entire RZSB found in the *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 122-126.

⁶⁶ His dates and the exact details regarding his role in printing this edition are unknown to me.

unique logical argumentation and creative illustrations that were peculiar to him alone.

Often he connects Rong-zom-pa and his unique way of reasoning with a verse from the *Sūtrālamkāra* (*mDo sde rgyan*) by playing with the words *chos bzang* and Rong-zom-pa's name, Chos-kyi-bzang-po, and thus implicitly suggesting that Rong-zom-pa was in a way prophesized by the Buddha Maitreya himself. While Mi-pham quotes the entire verse in his *dKar chag*,⁶⁷ in some other works of his he either uses parts of it or integrates it with his own words.

In his *Nges shes rin po che'i sgron me*—a work in which Mi-pham answers six questions regarding the three aspects of view, meditation and conduct (*lta sgom spyod gsum*) with relation to the six syllabls of the mantra of Mañjuśrī—he says (p. 92):

If one contemplates upon and examines the **excellent doctrine** through
logic,

One will be beyond Māra's sphere of influence.

[And this] will ripen the discriminative awareness which cannot be
snatched away.⁶⁸

At the end of the same text (p. 121), Mi-pham makes use of the verse once more while pointing out the danger of neglecting the authentic teachings and following false ones. Here he makes direct reference to Rong-zom-pa:

Rong-[zom-pa and] Klong-[chen-pa], the joyful manifestations of
Mañjuśrī, possess

Numerous doctrinal treasures, which are like various precious stones

In the great ocean of the mind of the supreme Noble Ones.

Those who give them up and aspire for other traditions which are [like]
spurious [stones] are deceived,

⁶⁷ See the *dKar chag*, p. 37 (my translation, p. 116).

⁶⁸ *chos bzang rigs pas nram dpyad la//*
bsam na bdud kyi yul las 'das//
mi 'phrog shes rab smin par byed//

But those who consider examining the **excellent doctrines** through
logic,

Will never be hindered by Māra.⁶⁹

The greatest impact on Mi-pham from Rong-zom-pa's teachings seems to derive from his *sNang ba lhar bgrub*—a work in which he establishes all appearances as deity, and Mi-pham's theory of the pure conventional valid cognition (*dag pa'i gzigs pa la rten pa'i kun tu tha snyad pa'i tshad ma*) is supposedly based on this work.⁷⁰ On this matter Mi-pham says in his *Nges shes rin po che'i sgron me* (p. 103):

The establishment of the nature of all appearances as a deity
Is peculiar to the tradition of the Early Translation School,
And the elegant sayings of the omniscient Rong-zom paṇḍita
[On this matter] are the lion's roar [of the Doctrine].⁷¹

Mi-pham further claims that Rong-zom-pa's views on emptiness correlate perfectly with that of the great Madhyamaka masters of India. In his *Nges shes sgron me* (p. 75) he writes:

Both the glorious Candrakīrti [in] India and
Rong-zom Chos-bzang in Tibet
Established the primordially pure Great Emptiness
Through the same intent and the same tone.⁷²

⁶⁹ *rong klong zhes grags 'jam dpal dgyes pa'i gar//*
'phags mchog thugs kyi rgya mtsho chen po na//
sna tshogs nor bu'i chos mdzod mang mnga' ba//
de spangs gzhan lugs 'ching bur re rnams 'khrul//
chos bzang rigs pas rnam dpyad bsam pa can//
riag tu bdud kyi bar chad byed pa med//

⁷⁰ Mi-pham differentiates between two types of conventional valid cognitions: *ma dag tshur mthong gi tshad ma* which is the ordinary conventional valid cognition as commonly understood by other Tibetan scholars and *dag pa'i gzigs pa la rten pa'i kun tu tha snyad pa'i tshad ma* which is a pure conventional valid cognition that perceives even the conventional phenomena as primordially pure. For his presentation of this theory, see, for example, his *Don rnam par nges pa shes rab ral gri*, pp. 9-10 and his *'Od gsal snying po*, pp. 77-84.

⁷¹ *snang kun rang bzhin lhar sgrub pa//*
sna 'gyur ring lugs kho na ste//
kun mkhen rong zom pan di ta'i//
legs bshad seng ge nga ro yin//
⁷² *'phag yul dpal ldan zla drags dang//*
bod na rong zom chos bzang gnyis//
dgongs pa gcig dang dbyang gcig gis//

In his commentary on *Madhyamakālaṃkāra*, the *dBu ma rgyan gyi rnam bshad 'jam dbyangs bla ma dgyes pa'i zhal lung*, (p. 432), he says:

The way Rong-zom-pa taught is of the same intent and the same tone [as those of] Lord Nāgārjuna, the venerable Candrakīrti, etc.⁷³

In his *Dam chos dogs sel*—a reply to the criticism on his *Madhyamakālaṃkāra* commentary collected and presented to him by the monk Dam-chos of rDo-grub monastery—he further says (p. 521):

I do not have the burden of [needing] to establish the *gzhan stong*,
[For] the two, Rong-[zom-pa and] kLong-[chen-pa] stand in harmony
with Nāgārjuna's teachings.⁷⁴

As evident in the last citation, Mi-pham is not only connecting Rong-zom-pa with the great Indian masters, but also with the great rNying-ma scholar Klong-chen-pa. The two—Rong-zom-pa and Klong-chen-pa—do form together the so-called Rong-klong tradition which opposed to the Zur tradition in regard to the interpretation of the *Guhyagarbha-tantra*.⁷⁵ In his *'Od gsal snying po*—a general outline of Klong-chen-pa's commentary on the *Guhyagarbha-tantra*, *Phyogs bcu mun sel*—Mi-pham says (p. 11):

The profound uncommon way of exposition ... is the unsurpassable intent
of the two Lions of Speech, Rong-[zom-pa] and Klong-[chen-pa].⁷⁶

Towards the end of his *'Od gsal snying po* (p. 268), he recommends that one study the two Rong-klong commentaries in order to understand thoroughly the

ka dag stong pa chen po bsgubs//

⁷³ *rong zom pas gsungs pa de bzhin du mgon po klu sgrub dang zla ba'i zhabs la sogs pa dgongs pa gcig dang dbyang gcig tu gyur pa yin te/*

⁷⁴ *bdag la gzhan stong sgrub pa'i khur kyang med//
rong klong rnam gnyis klu sgrub gzhung dang mthun//*

⁷⁵ The *Blue Annals* reports that when Klong-chen-pa was studying the *Guhyagarbha* at Dan-bag, he "used to say that the method of explaining the commentary of the gSañ-sñiñ 'grel-pa Par-khab was unsatisfactory, but that the method of Roñ-zom was good" (translated by Roerich, p. 157; *Deb sngon*, pp. 198-9: *klong chen rab 'byams kyis kyang der gsan pa mdzad nas/ gsang ba snying po'i 'grel pa par khab kyi lugs ltar 'chad pa legs pa ma yin gyi/ rong zom gyi ltar legs pa yin zhes gsung ...*).

⁷⁶ *zab pa thun min gyi 'chad tshul ... smra ba'i seng ge rong klong rnam gnyis kyi dgongs pa bla na med pa ste/*

words and meaning of the subject matter of the *Guhyagarbha-tantra*, and further specifies that he particularly based his *spyi don* on the interpretations of the Omniscient King of the Doctrine (*kun mkhyen chos kyi rgyal po*), that is, Klong-chen-pa and of the glorious Rong-zom Mahāpaṇḍita (*dpal rong zom paṇḍita chen po*).

Mi-pham, however, tries—as a part of what seems to be his efforts to revive Rong-zom-pa's textual tradition—to connect these two masters not only in the context of the *Guhyagarbha-tantra* but also in regard to other important matters such as their views regarding the existence of primordial gnosis on the stage of Buddhahood, as can be noted in his catalogue to *Rong-zom-pa's Collected Writings*.

Mi-pham seems to be the first modern Tibetan scholar to have extensively studied Rong-zom-pa's writings. He highly regarded them and relied on them in his works more than any other scholar before him. If gZhan-phan-pa was the one responsible for the collection and preservation of Rong-zom-pa's works, it was Mi-pham who brought them into the consciousness of the rNying-ma scholars of the present day. In the above, I have mentioned only a few examples of Mi-pham's efforts to propagate and spread Rong-zom-pa's textual tradition. I am convinced that this matter is of great significance and definitely requires further investigation: how and to what extent Rong-zom-pa's works actually influenced Mi-pham and his writings, and how similar Rong-zom-pa and Klong-chen-pa really were in regard to their views are important questions that remain to be answered.

IV. RONG-ZOM-PA'S BIOGRAPHIES AND DATES

A. SOURCES OF RONG-ZOM-PA'S BIOGRAPHY

In addition to the biography included in Mi-pham's *dKar chag*, five further biographies of Rong-zom-pa present themselves as worthy of consideration.

Two of them are primary biographies—one consists of two separate accounts, written respectively by two of his students, and one written by Jo-nang Kundga'-grol-mchog as a biography of one of his previous embodiments. The other three are biographies included in the following general and religious histories: 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba's *Deb ther sngon po*, Guru bKra-shis's *chos 'byung* and bDud-'joms Rin-po-che's *chos 'byung*.

The first biography of Rong-zom-pa was written by Yol dGe-bsnyen rDo-rje-dbang-phyug, who was his direct disciple.⁷⁷ This biography was composed by him, as he states in the colophon, in order to avoid any obscurations regarding the doctrinal tradition of this master and in order to benefit those who were not acquainted with Rong-zom-pa and thus might be affected by either false imputation or false deprecation regarding him. He further says that the details given in the biography are not based solely on his personal acquaintance with Rong-zom-pa but also on stories he repeatedly heard from others regarding this master.⁷⁸ rDo-rje-dbang-phyug's account includes a short family background, a short discussion—which also mentions his encounter with Atīśa—regarding Rong-zom-pa being a reincarnation of an Indian master, and short descriptions of his studies, his principal Tibetan teachers, an incident in connection with the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Secret Tantra* (*gSang rgyud*), of some of the Indian scholars under whom he studied, and of some of the other contemporary Tibetan scholars of his time.⁷⁹

There exists another biographical account by gYag rDo-rje-'dzin-pa-chen-po, who was also a direct disciple of Rong-zom-pa.⁸⁰ This short account mainly describes the incident with 'Gar-ston Tshul-khrims-bzang-po's students and Rong-zom-pa's father, Rong-zom-pa's dream of preparing a meal out of the *Guhya garbha-tantra* and the *Buddhasamāyoga* and the aftermath of the dream, namely, the writing of the three commentaries on these tantras and other related topics, and the story about the debate between Rong-zom-pa and the other scholars.

⁷⁷ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 3-B.

⁷⁸ See his colophon given in the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 3-B.

⁷⁹ These and the other details of Rong-zom-pa's biography that will be mentioned below are related by Mi-pham in the biographical part of his *dKar chag*, pp. 3-16 (see my translation, pp. 79-93).

⁸⁰ See Mi-pham's *dKar chag*, p.15 (my translation, p. 91).

Both accounts are included in *Rong-zom's Collected Works* printed together under the title *dGe ba'i bshes gnyen chen po chos kyi bzang po'i rnam par thar pa*. This edition also includes a supplement which gives Rong-zom-pa's family lineage.⁸¹ Since the *Blue Annals* version is almost identical to this edition, one may assume that these two texts and the supplementary part were brought together relatively early and that the text was transmitted in this way to later generations.⁸² The version of Rong-zom-pa's biography included in the Śrī-simha (or Shri-seng) edition of *Rong-zom's Collected Writings* is the only version available to me at present.⁸³ The first part of the text, which is written by rDo-rje-dbang-phyug, bears the annotations (*mchan bu*) of an unidentified author. The annotations provide the reader with additional information and simplify the reading. Given that the text in the *Blue Annals* does not include the annotations, one can conclude that these were either inserted at a later time or that there existed two versions of the biography—one bearing the annotations and one not.

As mentioned above, the biography given by 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal (1392-1481) in his *Blue Annals*⁸⁴ is almost completely identical to this text: it first presents the two biographies and then Rong-zom-pa's family lineage. In addition, 'Gos lo-tsā-ba includes a short concluding section and also the lineages of transmission up to Rong-zom-pa. In the concluding section he mentions, among other things, the fact that Rong-zom-pa's writings include

⁸¹ For the exact subdivision of this edition, see the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 3-B. In the following discussion, Yol rDo-rje-dbang-phyug's account will be referred to as the *rNam thar*; the second account in this biography by gYag rDo-rje-'dzin-pa will be referred to as the *rNam thar**.

⁸² A-khu Rinpoche includes in his *dPe rgyun dkon pa 'ga' zhig gi tho yig* one text of Rong-zom's biography entitled *Rong zom chos bzang gi rnam thar yol ston rdo rje dbang phyug gis mdzad pa* (MHTL Vol. 3, p. 506). Whether the text he refers to also includes gYag rDo-rje-'dzin-pa's account and the family lineage is unclear. However, the compiler of the RZSB also indicates the text as *dGe ba'i bshes gnyen chen po chos kyi bzang po'i rnam thar yol ston rdo rje dbang phyug gis mdzad pa*, even though it too includes gYag rdo-rje-'dzin-pa's account and the family lineage; therefore, it is not impossible that this was also the case with the biography mentioned by A-khu Rinpoche.

⁸³ Whether Yol dGe-bsnyen rDo-rje-dbang-phyug's biography was included in the two-volume edition of the *Collected Writings* is uncertain, though one may assume that at least some of the supplementary texts included in the third volume of the Shri-seng edition such as Mi-pham's *bla ma'i rnal 'byor* and 'Jam-dbyangs-mkhyen-brtse-dbang-po's *Rong zom gsol 'debs* were already printed with the first edition.

⁸⁴ See the *Deb ther sngon po*, pp. 202-212 (Roerich, pp. 160-167). In the following discussion it will be referred to as the *Deb sngon*; the part which relies on gYag rDo-rje-'dzin-pa's account will be referred to as the *Deb sngon**.

works not only on religious issues but also on secular matters such as agriculture, animal husbandry, dairy farming, etc., and further praises his matchless expertise in the Indian languages—his ability to apply the correct meaning to any given term and the ability to discriminate the most subtle differences between the various technical terms. 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba is also the first to mention one more important issue, i.e. that regarding Rong-zom-pa's dates.⁸⁵

Yet another biography of Rong-zom-pa is Jo-nang Kun-dga'-grol-mchog's (b. 1507) *Rong zom chos kyi bzang po'i rtogs pa brjod pa'i yal 'dab bzhi pa*.⁸⁶ Kun-dga'-grol-mchog considered himself to be in the reincarnation lineage of Rong-zom-pa, and hence he wrote this biography, along with the biographies of other masters in his reincarnation lineage, as a sort of "autobiography" of his previous embodiments.⁸⁷ The text is written alternately in prose and verses—the prose provides the biographical information while the verses serve as ornamental elements. In his colophon, Kun-dga'-grol-mchog states that he relied on Yol dGe-bsnyen rDo-rje-dbang-phyug's account. Nevertheless, since he includes most of the important information from the two accounts mentioned above and also some of the additional information given by 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba in his concluding section, such as the indications regarding the master's dates, it is obvious that he also employed the *Blue Annals* as a source. In addition to the biographical information given there, Kun-dga'-grol-mchog relates for the first time the story regarding Rong-zom-pa's daughter.

A later biography is that written by Guru bKra-shis in his *chos 'byung* (composed between 1807-1873).⁸⁸ Like Kun-dga'-grol-mchog's account, and unlike the account in the *Blue Annals*, this biography is an original composition which provides the reader with some new information: he indicates, for example, Rong-zom-pa's age at death as one hundred and

⁸⁵ See below my discussion on Rong-zom-pa's dates.

⁸⁶ See *Kun dga' grol mchog blo gsal rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum* Vol. 1, pp. 139-149, Tibet House, New Delhi, 1982. In the following discussion this text will be referred to as the *rTogs brjod*.

⁸⁷ Each chapter or rather text (*yal 'dab*) in this part of Kun-dga'-grol-mchog's collected writings describes the biography of one of his previous embodiments successively. Rong-zom-pa is the fourth in the reincarnation lineage which begins with Paṇḍita 'Bar-ba'i-gtso-bo, Nag-po-spyod-pa and Ra-tan-bha-hu-la.

⁸⁸ In the following discussion will be referred to as the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*.

eighteen⁸⁹ and describes in more detail the master's supernormal abilities. The sources from which he derived his additional information, however, are not always clear. Moreover, in his account we witness for the first time an attempt to connect Rong-zom-pa with Klong-chen-pa, an attempt which, as related above, was taken up with greater intensity by Mi-pham.

Mi-pham, in the biographical part of his *dKar chag*, relies on the two older biographies—that of Yol dGe-bsnyen rDo-rje-dbang-phyug and the short account of gYag rDo-rje-'dzin-pa-chen-po,⁹⁰ on Kun-dga'-grol-mchog's account, which he often favours and from which he derived the story on Rong-zom-pa's daughter, and on Guru bKra-shis's *chos 'byung*. He combines all versions, writes freely, and occasionally adds some details from other sources.

Due to the fact that original copies of Yol dGe-bsnyen rDo-rje-dbang-phyug's and gYag rDo-rje-'dzin-pa-chen-po's accounts were rare, the main source for Rong-zom-pa's biography over the years seems to have been the account in the *Blue Annals*. Modern authors of historical and biographical works continue to use it as their main source—as did, for example, Khetsun Sangpo in his *Biographical Dictionary*⁹¹—instead of other sources like the biography by Kun-dga'-grol-mchog or Mi-pham's catalogue of *Rong-zom's Collected Writings*. These two, I assume, were in very limited circulation until fairly recently. Nonetheless, Guru bKra-shis's biographical account seems to offer modern rNying-ma scholars an alternative to the *Blue Annals*. In his *Chos 'byung*,⁹² for example, bDud-'joms Rinpoche appears not to use Mi-pham's *dKar chag* at all, and rather relies solely on the biographical account in *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*.

In the following pages I will compare in chronological order four corresponding passages from the various accounts of Rong-zom-pa's biography mentioned above and shall attempt to show how the different authors used their sources, indicating their preferences in regard to style and content, and showing in each instance the differing influences of early authors on later.

⁸⁹ See below my discussion on Rong-zom-pa's dates.

⁹⁰ Whether Mi-pham had an annotated copy of Yol rDo-rje-dbang-phyug's account is unclear. However, even if he did, he appears to have ignored the annotations.

⁹¹ Vol. 3, pp. 243-254.

⁹² In the following discussion this history will be referred to as the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung*.

Passage No. 1:

*rNam thar** reads (fol. 335a₂):

*....mched po rnams na re/ khyed kyi bu 'di kho rang yang blo 'dred/
nged la yang tho co che bas gnod par 'dug pas khyed kyis da res khrid pa
legs zer skad/ de yab kyis dge bshes 'gar la bsnyad nas/ kho de skad
zer khrid la 'gro'am zhus pas/ slob dpon gyi zhal nas de skad ma zer
cig/ khos chos thams cad go nas yod do gsungs skad/*

*Deb sngon** reads (p. 207):

*mched po rnams na re/ khyed kyi bu 'di khong rang blo dred nged la
yang tho co che ba gnod par 'dug pas/ khyed rang da res khrid pa legs
zer skad/ de yab kyis dge bshes 'gar la bsnyad nas/ khong de skad zer
khrid la 'gro'am zhus pas/ slob dpon gyi zhal nas/ de skad ma zer cig/
khos chos thams cad go nas yod do gsung skad/*

rTogs brjod reads (p. 143₅):

*mched po rnams na re/ khyed kyi bla 'di khyed rang yang blo dred/
nged la yang tho co che bas gnod par 'dug pas khyed rang da res khrid
pa legs zer skad/ de yab kyi dge bshes 'gar la bsnyad nas khong de skad
zer bas/ bu chung khrid nas 'gro lags sam zhus pas/ slob dpon gyis
zhal nas de skad ma zer cig khos thams cad go nas yod do gsung pas/*

Gu bkra'i chos 'byung reads (p. 316):

*mched grogs dag na re/ khyod kyi bu 'di blo <dred>⁹³ / tho co che
bas nged cag kyang sun par byed na da res 'khrid par 'thad ces zer/ yab
kyis slob dpon la khong rnams de skad 'chad na 'khrid par <bya'am>⁹⁴
zhus pas/ 'gar ston chen pos/ de skad ma zer/ chos thams cad khos
go nas yod pa yin gsung skad/*

⁹³ Text reads *dreng*.

⁹⁴ Text reads *bya ma*.

dKar chag reads (p. 5₅):

*der 'khod tshos grwa pa dag na re/ khyed kyi bu chung ngu 'di tho co
che bas/ nged cag rnam kun sun 'byin la rno bas 'di phyir khrid na
'thad ces zer ba/ yab kyis slob dpon la zhus nas phyir 'khrid dam byas
pa la/ slob dpon gyis de skad ma zer cig/ khos chos thams cad phyin
ci ma log par go nas yod pas yin/ don med kyi sun 'byin min gsungs/*

bDud 'joms chos 'byung reads (p. 448₆):

*mched grogs dag na re/ khyed kyi <bu>⁹⁵ 'di blo dred/ tho co che
bas nged cag kyang sun par byed na da res 'khrid par 'thad ces zer/ yab
kyis slob dpon la khong rnams de skad mchid na 'khrid par bya'am zhus
pas/ 'gar ston chen pos/ de skad ma zer/ chos thams cad khos go
nas yod pa yin gsungs skad/*

With this passage, one can see that although it was transmitted almost identically in all six accounts, the slight differences and changes made by the authors are already evident. Guru bKra-shis uses the verb "to vex" or "to bother" (*sun par byed pa*) instead of "to harm" (*gnod pa*) as found in the older sources. Mi-pham, though using a similar formulation, tends to add some details or make slight changes which, in this case, both contributes to a better understanding of the text and lends a glorification of Rong-zom-pa. He changes Guru bKra-shis's *sun par byed pa* to *sun 'byin pa*, which on the one hand means "to vex", "to criticize" or "to disgrace" and on the other means "to refute": Rong-zom-pa was not merely **disturbing** the other students by simply being a "naughty little boy" but was actually **refuting** their views concerning the Doctrine. In this passage one can also see that Kun-dga'-grol-mchog too makes slight changes for the sake of better understanding and that the *Deb sngon* is almost identical with the *rNam thar* and the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* with the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*.

⁹⁵ Text reads *chu*.

Passage No. 2:

rNam thar reads (fol. 331b₅):

gzhan yang khong nyid kyi zhal nas bdag thos pa chung ba yang ma yin te/ chos thams cad la ma thos pa med do// thos pa che ba yang ma yin te chos phal che la tshar re las ma thos zhes gsungs skad do//

Deb sngon reads (p. 204):

khong nyid kyi zhal nas bdag thos pa chung ba yang min te/ chos thams cad la ma thos pa med do/ thos pa che ba yang min te/ chos phal che ba la tshar re las ma dgos so zhes gsung skad do/

rTogs brjod reads (p. 142₄):

khong nyid kyi gsung nas kho bo thos pa chung ba yang min te bod du 'gyur ba'i chos la ma thos pa med do// thos pa che ba yang min te/ rgya gar <gyi>⁹⁶ chos du ma da lta brjed pa'i tshul gyis dran pa'i yul dag na mi snang ngo zhes gsung skad/

Gu bkra'i chos 'byung reads (p. 316):

nyid kyi zhal nas kyang/ bdag thos pa chung ba yang ma yin te chos thams cad ma thos pa med do// thos pa che ba yang ma yin te chos thams cad tshar re las ma dgos so gsung skad/

dKar chag reads (p. 7₃):

rje nyid kyi zhal nas/ bdag thos pa chung ba yang ma yin te/ bod du 'gyur pa'i chos thams cad ma thos pa med do// thos pa ha cang myur bar 'dzin pa yang ma yin te/ chos thos pa thams cad tshar re las ma dgos so zhes gsung skad/

bDud 'joms chos 'byung reads (p. 449₃):

nyid kyi zhal nas kyang/ bdag thos pa chung ba yang ma yin te/ chos thams cad ma thos pa med do// thos pa che ba yang ma yin te/ chos thams cad tshar re las ma dgos so gsungs skad/

⁹⁶Text reads *gyis*.

In examining these passages one soon notices the differences between the various sources which most probably indicate not only differences regarding the style of writing but also the preferences of the authors regarding the content and their influences upon later authors. The last part of the sentence as it appears in rDo-rje-dbang-phyug's account may have appeared to 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba slightly problematic and he changes it from "... nor were [my] studies too extensive, as **I did not study** most of the doctrines more than once" to "... as **I did not need [to study]** most of the doctrines more than once". Kun-dga'-grol-mchog too finds that the sentence requires some changes and he chooses to give his own interpretation rather than adopt 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba's version: "... nor were [my] studies too extensive, **as many of the doctrines of India do not appear any longer within the objects of [my] memory, through having been forgotten**". It is not clear to me what his intention or motivation might have been for changing the sentence in this way. It seems that it was important for him to differentiate here between the doctrines which were known in Tibet at that time and which were not.⁹⁷ He adds to the first part of the sentence the words "**the doctrines which were translated into Tibetan**"—which, as one can see, were adopted by Mi-pham—excluding in this way all other doctrines which were not known in Tibet at that time, and adds the words "**doctrines of India**" to the second part of the sentence. *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung's* version is identical with that of the *Deb sngon* and so is the passage in the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* which relies on the former.

Passage No. 3:

*rNam thar** reads (fol. 335b₁):

*dus de tsam na spyi gtam du yang// mul pa mtshur ston yi ge mkhas//
chog khrig grong kyi me grags mkhas// sgra tshad 'gos lo khug pa
mkhas// thams cad 'dzoms pa a 'o rang// zer skad/*

⁹⁷ He repeats this idea once more in p. 143₁: He internalized all transmitted teachings of the [Buddha's] Word which were translated at that time in Tibet (*bod du de dus 'gyur ba'i bka' 'gyur ro cog thogs su chud....*). It is possible that the reason for this differentiation was that from Kun-dga'-grol-mchog's perspective, Rong-zom-pa was a Tibetan with a series of previous lives as various Indian Buddhist masters.

*Deb sngon** reads (p. 208):

*spyir gtam du yang/ 'dul ba 'tshur ston dbyig ge mkhas/ cho ga khrigs
bzangs kyi ye grags mkhas/ sgra dang tshad ma rong <pa>⁹⁸ mkhas/
thams cad <'dzoms>⁹⁹ pa a pho rang chos grags rang zer skad/*

rTogs brjod reads (p. 144₄):

*de dus rgyal khams na mtshar gtam sgrog pa la yang/ mul pa tshur
ston yi ge mkhas// chog sgrigs grangs kyi me grags mkhas// sgra
tshad <'gos>¹⁰⁰ lo khug pa mkhas// thams cad 'dzom pa chos bzang
tsam// ces zer skad//*

Gu bkra'i chos 'byung reads (p. 318):

*spyir gtam du'ang/ 'dul lam tshur ston dbyig ge mkhas// chog sgrig
bzangs kyi ye grags mkhas// sgra dang tshad ma rong pa mkhas//
thams cad 'dzoms pa a pho rang// chos grags rang zer skad/*

dKar chag reads (p. 8₃):

*gzhan yang de dus kyi skye bo dag gis/ mur pa tshur ston yi ge mkhas/
/<chog>¹⁰¹ sgrigs grangs kyi me grags mkhas/ /sgra tshad 'gos lo khug
pa mkhas/ /thams cad 'dzom pa chos bzang tsam/ /zhes sogs...*

bDud 'joms chos 'byung reads (p. 452₃):

*spyir gtam du'ang/ 'dul ba tshur ston dbyig ge mkhas// chog sgrigs
bzangs kyi ye grags mkhas// sgra dang tshad ma rong pa mkhas//
thams cad 'dzom pa a pha rang// chos grags rang zer skad/*

This verse may serve as another good example to demonstrate the way the authors choose to use their sources and their relation to each other. While the *rNam thar** reads "**Mul-pa-tshur-ston** is learned in **letters** (yi ge)", the *Deb sngon** reads "**Tshur-ston-dbyig-ge** is learned in **Vinaya** ('dul ba)". Kun-dga'-grol-mchog as well as Mi-pham adopt the version of the *rNam thar**. Instead

⁹⁸ Text reads *ba*.

⁹⁹ Text reads *'joms*.

¹⁰⁰ Text reads *mgos*.

¹⁰¹ Text reads *tshog*.

of 'Gos-lo Khug-pa in the third line, the *Deb sngon** reads Rong-pa. The last line "[But] only A-'o combines them all", as it is read in the *rNam thar**, was again changed by 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba so that the text reads A-pho instead of A-'o¹⁰² and is supplemented by the phrase *cho grags rang*.¹⁰³ This was translated by Roerich as "A-pho Chos-grags himself was learned in all branches (of learning)."¹⁰⁴ *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*, and thus also the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung*, adopts the *Deb sngon**'s version. Gyurme Dorje states that A-pho chos-grags is Rong-zom-pa himself.¹⁰⁵ If "Rong-pa" in the third line ("Rong-pa is learned in grammar and epistemology") refers to Rong-zom-pa, which, since Rong-zom-pa was famed as a highly learned scholar in Sanskrit grammar (*sgra*) and epistemology (*tshad ma*) for his period, is most likely the case, this interpretation is not very convincing. Kun-dga'-grol-mchog's account reads the first three lines in the manner of the *rNam thar** and solves the problem in the fourth line by replacing a 'o rang with chos bzang tsam. Mi-pham prefers again—not without good reason—Kun-dga'-grol-mchog's version to that of 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba and even to that of rDo-rje-dbang-phyug.¹⁰⁶

Passage No. 4:

rNam thar reads (fol. 331b₆):¹⁰⁷

*ri dang brag la sogs par bzhugs na'ang/ de na mi ma yin yod pa thams cad mkhyen
te/ 'di na 'di lta bu'i mi ma yin pa zhig snang te/ srog gi snying po ni 'di skad bya
ba yin/ de sgrub na mthun rdzas 'di lta bu yin/ grogs 'di byed/ skyon 'di 'dra yod
bya ba gsungs skad/ ...skyes bu de ni zab la rgya che ba'i shes rab dri ma
med pa dang ldan pas/*

and (fol. 334b₁):

¹⁰² The *rNam thar* edition available to me is often corrupt, and thus "A-'o" might simply be a scribal error.

¹⁰³ D. Jackson has suggested that 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba—a widely read historian with much knowledge of the early sources and traditions—might have known this saying from elsewhere and did not necessarily changed it himself.

¹⁰⁴ See Roerich, p. 164.

¹⁰⁵ See the NSTB Vol. 1, p. 706 and Vol. 2, p. 65, note 895.

¹⁰⁶ It seems that later hagiographies were not satisfied with anything less than "learned in all subjects" for describing Rong-zom-pa.

¹⁰⁷ The annotation (*mchan bu*) in this passage will be written here in small letters.

*gzhan yang brag گزار po'i ngos la gshegs shing rtsibs la skor ba mdzad
pa mthong ba...tsha tig chos 'bar zhes bya bas kyang/ 'bras yul kham bu lung na
mdzad pa mthong skad/ 'di rnam la lo rgyus cung zad yod skad do// skye ba dpag
tu med pa pañdi ta mdzad pa dang/ ro la gdon zhugs nas langs pa rnam par mi rtog
pa'i ting nge 'dzin gyi zhi ba la sogs pa'o/ la sogs pa mang du yod pa thos
mod kyi/ yi ge ha cang mangs <dogs>¹⁰⁸ nas ma bris so//*

Deb sngon reads (p. 207):

*gzhan yang brag گزار po'i ngos la gshegs shing rtsibs bskor ba mdzad pa
mthong ba la sogs pa mang du yod pa thos mod kyi/ yi ge mangs kyis
dogs nas ma bris so/*

rTogs brjod reads (p. 146₅):

*ma gshin phur ba'i bsnyen bsgrub mthar phyin/ de'i mthus bod yul gyi
yul lha sde brgyad kun kyang dbang du 'dus nas rang rang gi srog snying
phul/ brag گزار po'i ngos la gshegs bzhugs thog med du mdzad pa sogs
rdzu 'phrul du ma ston par mdzad/*

Gu bkra'i chos 'byung reads (p. 320):

*grub pa'i rnam thar la gzhal na/ brag chen گزار po me long lta bu'i
ngos la'ang rdzu 'phrul gyi spyod pas gshegs pa dang/ brag la phur pa
'debs pa <dang>¹⁰⁹ / nam mkha' la 'phur ba dang/ bod kyi lha 'dre
phal mo che'i gnas dang/ spyod pa thugs su chud pa'i mngon par
mkhyen pa mnga' ba sogs mang du yod mod kyi/...*

dKar chag reads (p. 14₂):

*brag me long gi ngos lta bur mtho zhing yangs la گزار bar bya ltar 'phur
pa dang/ brag la phur pa btab pa/ nam mkhar 'phur ba/ bod kyi lha
'dre rnams kyi gnas dang spyod pa mkhyen pa/ gdul bya'i rgyud
mkhyen pa sogs tha mal pa rnams kyis ya mtshan du byed cing grub pa'i
rtags su mngon pa <tshad>¹¹⁰ med pa yod par de dus kyi skye bo rnams
la yongs su grags mod kyi/ so so yang dag rig pa bzhi thob pa'i 'phags*

¹⁰⁸ Text reads *dog*.

¹⁰⁹ Text reads *da dang*.

¹¹⁰ Text reads *ched*.

*chen 'di lta bu la de 'dra'i mngon rtags phra mo bgrang <ba>¹¹¹ tsam ya
mtshan gyi gtam du mi 'gyur bas smros ma dgos so//*

and (T fol.15₄):

*ma gshin phur pa'i bsnyen sgrub mthar phyin/ de'i mthus bod yul gyi
sde brgyad kun kyang dbang du 'dus nas srog snying phul/ bod kyi lha
'dre rnams kyi srog snying dang mthun rdzas sogs kyi gdams pa sna
tshogs mdzad/*

bDud 'joms chos 'byung reads (p. 458₁):

*grub pa'i rnam thar la gzhal na/ brag chen gzar po me long lta bu'i
ngos la'ang rdzu 'phrul gyi spyod pas gshegs pa dang/ brag la phur pa
'debs pa dang/ nam mkha' la 'phur ba dang/ bod kyi lha 'dre phal mo
che'i gnas dang spyod pa thugs su chud pa'i mngon par mkhyen pa mnga'
ba sogs mang/*

These passages, which describe the supernormal abilities of Rong-zom-pa, provide us with material that further supports the conclusions drawn from the examples given above. The *rNam thar* supplies very little information on this matter and mentions only that "many had seen him circumambulating a precipitous rock". The author states that he did not elaborate upon this matter "out of fear of becoming long-winded". The *Deb sngon* reads exactly the same with no additions or alterations. The annotation inserted in the two passages in *rNam thar* provides the reader with more information, in the first passage, regarding his ability to deal with non-humans (for example the various spirits) and, in the second passage, regarding his ability to pacify "zombies" or "risen corpses" (*ro lang*) through his "non-conceptualizing concentration". The annotation further supplies substantiation for this with the statement that a person called Tsha-tig-chos-'bar was a witness of these miraculous deeds performed by Rong-zom-pa in 'Bras-yul Kham-bu-lung.¹¹² Kun-dga'-grol-mchog too deals with this issue briefly and mentions, along with Rong-zom-pa's walking on the face of a high and steep cliff, his ability to subdue the gods

¹¹¹ Text reads *pa*.

¹¹² The mention of such details may be an indication that the annotation was inserted shortly after the text was written by rDo-rje-dbang-phyug.

and spirits of Tibet. *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* describes many other miraculous phenomena performed by Rong-zom-pa such as flying, piercing a ritual dagger into a rock, etc. but does not relate his ability to subdue the spirits and the gods. Mi-pham adopts in this case the contents of Kun-dga'-grol-mchog's account as well as that of *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*. *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* is again identical with *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*.

As can be seen through the examination of the above four passages,¹¹³ 'Gos Lo-tsa-ba reproduces almost the exact text of the *rNam thar*, slightly changes some passages or words which seemed to him to be problematic, and adds only the concluding section, while Kun-dga'-grol-mchog writes more freely and adds new information. As already mentioned, he relies on both the *rNam thar* and the *Deb sngon* but obviously prefers the version given in the *rNam thar* to that of the *Deb sngon* when these differ. Although the account by Guru bKra-shis is more detailed than the former ones and though it provides the reader with supplementary information, Mi-pham's account, which uses all four older sources—*rNam thar*, *Deb sngon*, *rTogs brjod* and *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*—and occasionally provides additional information, is obviously the most elaborated and the most extensive biographical account. It is impossible to know for sure why bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, who obviously relies only on Guru bKra-shis, did not use Mi-pham's *dKar chag* as a source. But the most likely explanation is that he did not have a copy of it at the time of composing his *chos 'byung*, since the *dKar chag* was until recent years quite rare (*bDud 'joms chos 'byung* was composed in 1962).

B. RONG-ZOM-PA'S DATES

The exact dates of Rong-zom-pa are unknown but can be approximated based on the dates—when these are known—of the persons he is said to have met with. In his *dKar chag*, Mi-pham does not provide us with any information

¹¹³ It is necessary to examine more extensively the relations between each biography. Such an examination cannot be undertaken within the frame of this work. I do, however, plan to chart these relations in detail at a future date.

regarding Rong-zom-pa's dates and says only that he died a natural death at the age of a hundred and eighteen. Guru bKra-shis and bDud-'joms Rin-po-che provide the same information.¹¹⁴ Though none of them specify their source, they, or to be more precise, Guru bKra-shis, seems to have used *rDo rje phur pa lo rgyus* (fol. 18a₆) as his source and Mi-pham and bDud-'joms Rin-po-che seem to rely on him. Khetsun Sangpo in his *Biographical Dictionary* uses the same text as his source and reports that Rong-zom-pa's grandfather, Rong-ban Yon-ten, met Padmasambhava in person and lived three hundred years and that his son, Rong-zom-pa's father, lived a hundred and fifty years. Therefore, says Ketsun Sangpo, Rong-zom-pa himself, who lived one hundred and eighteen years, must have lived in the eleventh century.¹¹⁵ Tarthang Tulku indicates Rong-zom-pa's dates as 1012-1088.¹¹⁶ Another source is the xylograph colophon to the three-volume edition of *Rong-zom's Collected Writings* which was published recently in rDzogs-chen monastery in Khams. Padma-kun-grol, who was responsible for this edition, indicates Rong-zom-pa's year of birth in the xylograph colophon as 1040 (*rab byung dang po lcags 'brug lo*). He too does not specify his source.

The *Blue Annals* gives Rong-zom-pa's meetings with 1) Atīśa, 2) 'Gos Lotsā-ba Khug-pa Lhas-btsas and 3) Ma-cig¹¹⁷ Zha-ma's brother as events in Rong-zom's life that could serve as three mileposts indicating the beginning, middle and the end of his life, respectively:¹¹⁸

Atīśa (ca. 980-1054) was in Tibet most probably from 1042 till his death in 1054.¹¹⁹ He stayed in the western region of Tibet (Nga-ri) for the first three years and reached central Tibet (dBus) only in 1045 after he was invited by 'Brom-ston (1004-1064); thus the only possible dates for his meeting Rong-zom-pa lay between 1045 and 1054. Since according to the *Blue Annals* Atīśa met the child Rong-zom upon his arrival in Tibet, the meeting is most likely to

¹¹⁴ See Mi-pham's *dKar chag*, p. 14 (my translation, p. 91), the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung*, fol. 458₄ (translated in the NSTB Vol. 1, p. 709) and the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*, p. 321.

¹¹⁵ See his *Biographical Dictionary* Vol. 3, p. 254; cf. also the NSTB Vol. 1, p. 712.

¹¹⁶ See *Crystal Mirror* Vol. 5, p. 237. Here too the sources for this information are not specified. These incorrect dates have been quoted by some modern scholars, such as U. Loseries (1989, p. 303).

¹¹⁷ Other readings: Ma-chig or Ma-gcig.

¹¹⁸ See Roerich, p. 167; cf. also the *rTogs brjod*, fol. 147₃.

¹¹⁹ For a detailed biography of Atīśa, his life and his visit to Tibet, see Chattopadhyaya.

have occurred sometime in the mid 1040s. The dates of 'Gos-lo Khug-pa Lhas-btsas are unfortunately obscure. Nevertheless, since he is considered a contemporary of Zur-chung Shes-rab-grags-pa (1014-1074), he probably was active as a translator in the middle and second half of the eleventh century. Ma-gcig's brother Chos-kyi-rgyal-po Khon-phu-ba, also known as rJe 'Khon-bubs (1069-1144),¹²⁰ is said to have studied the *Āyudhopama-nāma-vacanamukha* (T 4295) under Rong-zom at the age of thirteen,¹²¹ and from this it may be inferred that their meeting occurred sometime in 1082.

Another translator whom Rong-zom-pa is said to have met and debated with is Mar-pa Do-ba (1042-1136).¹²² The dates of other scholars whom he is said to have met, taught or debated with, such as 'Gos-lo Khug-pa's teacher Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje, Go-rub Lo-tsā-ba, Yang-khyed Bla-ma, and Lho-pa Dharma-skyabs (who was a disciple of Kha-rag-pa)¹²³ are unknown.

There do, however, exist records for other persons which suggest a later dating for Rong-zom-pa. It is recorded that Ma-cig Zha-ma's brother, as well as his sixteen year old son Lha-rje Zla-ba'i-'od-zer (b.1123), studied (therefore in 1139) under Zhang rGya-ma-pa of 'U-yug, a scholar under whom Rong-zom-pa is also said to have studied,¹²⁴ and that rGyal-tsha (b. 1118), one of the chief disciples of 'Gro-mgon Rinpoche Phag-mo-gru-pa (1110-1170), went to dBus at the age of nineteen (1137) and met there, among others, the Bla-ma gShen-chen-po, aged 83, who was a disciple of Rong-zom-pa.¹²⁵ The later dates, 1139 and 1137, which are presented in connection with these events and which are, although indirectly, related to Rong-zom-pa, support a later date for his birth year, as suggested by Padma-kun-grol for example, rather than the earlier date suggested by Tarthang Tulku.

¹²⁰ On Ma-gcig Zha-ma and her brother, see Roerich, pp. 220ff.

¹²¹ See Roerich, p. 226.

¹²² See Roerich, p. 383.

¹²³ See Roerich, p. 1004.

¹²⁴ See Roerich, p. 230.

¹²⁵ See Roerich, p. 706.

V. A DOCTRINAL CONTROVERSY ON WHICH RONG-ZOM-PA'S WORKS SHED IMPORTANT LIGHT

Rong-zom-pa's View Regarding the Existence of Primordial Gnosis (ye shes) on the Stage of Buddhahood as Addressed by Mi-pham in his Catalogue

After providing the reader with a detailed biography of Rong-zom-pa, a short biographical account of gZhan-phan-pa (who compiled *Rong-zom's Collected Writings*), and a brief description of the necessary editorial work done by himself, Mi-pham enters into a short discussion of Rong-zom-pa's stance regarding the existence of primordial gnosis on the stage of Buddhahood. To do justice to this issue, one would have to investigate it very thoroughly, taking into consideration its full philosophical background, i.e., the different interpretations of this issue by the various tenet systems and schools of Indian and Tibetan Buddhism. But since the present work is mainly concerned with the life and works of Rong-zom-pa in general, and not with a specific work or topic appearing in his writings, a conclusive examination will not be possible here. Nevertheless, in order to enable the reader to have at least a basic understanding of the discussion, I shall briefly present the main points of the discussion.

In the following pages, I shall first give a basic explanation of the principal terms in the discussion, mainly as understood by Mi-pham in his discussion in the *dKar chag* and in his other writings. I shall then briefly describe Mi-pham's interpretation of Rong-zom-pa's stance. Finally, I shall present some of the relevant passages from Rong-zom-pa's writings on which Mi-pham seems to base his interpretation.

A. A BASIC EXPLANATION OF THE PRINCIPAL TERMS

It may be helpful to begin by trying to ascertain the general meaning of the term "primordial gnosis" (*ye shes*): The *Tshig mdzod chen mo* defines it in two ways: as 1) the primordially existing knowledge (*ye nas gnas pa'i shes pa*), that is, the awareness of emptiness and luminosity (*stong gsal gyi rig pa*) that inherently exists in the mental continuum of all beings, and as 2) the knowledge or wisdom of the Noble Ones or saints (*'phags pa'i mkhyen pa*). According to the first meaning, which is the meaning most relevant to our discussion, "primordial gnosis" is understood as the "mind in its natural state" (*gnyug sems*) or as the "real nature of the mind" (*sems nyid*) as opposed to just "mind" (*sems*), that is, the "mind" of an ordinary being which is obscured by conceptualizations. The idea of a primordially existing "enlightened entity" is described by different tenet systems through various terms such as "Buddha nature" (*bde gshegs snying po*), "self-arisen primordial gnosis" (*rang byung ye shes*), etc. (see below).

Apart from the term *ye shes* ("primordial gnosis") as such, there occur in the discussion several related terms which denote various types of primordial gnosis. Two terms of great significance in the discussion are "self-arisen primordial gnosis" (*rang byung ye shes*) and "primordial gnosis arisen from another" (*gzhan byung ye shes*).¹²⁶ The main philosophical idea behind the distinction of these two terms in the discussion led by Mi-pham, is that of the indivisibility of the foundation and the fruit (*gzhi 'bras dbyer med*):¹²⁷ The fruit is not a new result attained by the application of the five paths and the two

¹²⁶ In his *The Great Perfection* (p. 114, note 42), Karmay, relying on Ruegg (1973, p. 29), gives the Sanskrit equivalent of the term *rang byung ye shes* as *svayambhūjñāna*.

¹²⁷ Mi-pham goes even beyond this and says in the discussion (p. 263) that this unconditional primordial gnosis undergoes no changes, in any of the three levels of foundation, path and fruit. Mi-pham explains these terms in his *'Od gsal snying po* as follows: The foundation (*gzhi*) is that which is to be realized (*gang rtogs par bya ba*), that is, the indivisibility of the two truths (*bden pa gnyis dbyer med*) (see p. 23). The path (*lam*) is the means by which [the foundation] is to be realised (*gang gis rtogs par byed pa thabs*) (see p. 31). The fruit (*'bras bu*) is that which is accomplished (*gang du mthar phyin pa*), that is, the manifestation or revelation of the foundation as it is (*gzhi... ji lta ba bzhin du mngon du gyur pa*) (see p. 62). rDo-grub bsTan-pa'i-nyi-ma in his *mDzod kyi lde mig*, relying on Lo-chen Dharma-shrī, gives the following explanation: The foundation is the source of all phenomena, the path is that which is endowed with the effort of knowing and engaging, and the fruit is the arrival at the summit (=utmost perfection) of the revelation of reality (*chos thams cad kyi 'byung gnas su gyur pa gzhi/ shes 'jug gi byed rtol dang bcas pa lam/ chos nyid mngon gyur bogs dbyung du med par son pa 'bras bu...*) (see p. 46).

accumulations, but a revelation of something inherently existent at the foundation level. Mi-pham, in his *Tshig bdun rnam bshad padma dkar po*—a work in which he interprets the seven-line prayer of Guru Rinpoche according to its "outer" (*phyi*), "inner" (*nang*) and "secret" (*gsang ba*) meanings—extensively explains the meaning of the "self-arisen primordial gnosis". He explains the term "self-arisen" as having arisen independent of adventitious causes and conditions. He goes on to say (p. 71₆):

This kind of primordial gnosis is taught by [providing] it with numerous synonyms: the primordial entire liberation, that is, the liberation from afflicted emotions, the self-arisen primordial gnosis which is not bound by *karma* and which is beyond causes and conditions, ... etc.¹²⁸

Furthermore, since the self-arisen primordial gnosis, says Mi-pham, is the natural state of the mind, it is not an attainment of something new but a revelation of something that has always been there; it is self-arisen because it arises as a result of being revealed and not on account of being generated. Mi-pham presents this idea while explaining Buddha-nature which, according to him (see below), is synonymous with the self-arisen primordial gnosis (p. 74₂):

Therefore, it is taught in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*¹²⁹ that Buddha nature is a spontaneously present good quality, and therefore, all paths are its illuminating cause; and in the tantras, such as the *Vajrajñānasamuccaya-tantra*,¹³⁰ it is taught that all paths are not the generating cause but the illuminating cause of the Body of Reality, which is the primordial radiant light.¹³¹ One should know that [this] is a profound and uncommon essential point.¹³²

¹²⁸ *de lta bu'i ye shes de la ming gi rnam grangs du mas bstan te/ nyon mongs las grol pa'i gdod nas rnam grol/ las kyi mi 'ching zhing rgyu rkyen las 'das pa'i rang byung ye shes/*

¹²⁹ T 119-21.

¹³⁰ T 447.

¹³¹ In his *mKhas 'jug*, Mi-pham defines the terms "illuminating" and "generating causes" as follows: "The illuminating cause is like a butter-lamp for a visible form in a dark room." (*mun khang gi gzugs la mar me lta bu*), and "[The generating cause] is like a seed, water, etc. for a sprout." (*myu gu la sa bon dang chu sogs lta bu*). See pp. 410 and 411, respectively. On the term "radiant light" (*'od gsal*), see note 309.

¹³² *de'i phyir bde gshegs snying po ye nas yon tan lhun grub yin pas lam thams cad de'i gsal byed kyi rgyu yin par mdo myang 'das las gsung zhing/ ye shes rdo rje kun las btus pa sogs rgyud rnam las lam thams cad gdod ma'i 'od gsal chos kyi sku'i gsal byed kyi rgyu yin gyi skyed byed kyi rgyu min par gsung ba'i gnad zab mo thun mong min par shes par bya la/ de lta shes na gsang sngags kyi dgongs don tshul bzhih khong du chud par 'gyur ro//*

As far as its essential meaning is concerned, light may be shed on the term "*rang byung ye shes*" by a perusal of the numerous synonyms that Mi-pham gives in various passages of his *rNam bshad padma dkar po*. While interpreting the inner hidden meaning (*nang sbas don*) of the name "the lotus-born" (*padma 'byung gnas*) according to the path of liberation (*grol lam*) as "reality which is the ultimate mode of abiding" (*chos nyid don gyi gnas lugs*) or as "actual Buddha" (*nges pa don gyi sangs rgyas*), he says (p. 44₃):

Other synonyms of these terms were designated according to the individual intentions of the [various] basic texts: Samantabhadra, the first Buddha, the sphere of reality, the summit of the real, the mind of enlightenment which is reality itself, suchness, ultimate truth, self-arisen primordial gnosis, Buddha-nature, primordial gnosis which pervades saṃsāra and nirvāṇa, the primordial [state of the] mind which is the natural radiant light, the unsurpassable primordial gnosis of the Buddha-Mind, spontaneously arisen great bliss and Causal Heruka. The ultimate meaning established by the Three Great Ones—the Great Madhyamaka, the Great Mahāmūdra and the Great Perfection—and furthermore the meaning indicated by the numerous synonyms in the sūtras and tantras are exactly this.¹³³

The term "primordial gnosis arisen from another" (*gzhan byung ye shes*) is used in opposition to "self-arisen primordial gnosis".¹³⁴ Primordial gnosis arisen from another, says Mi-pham in his discussion, is a primordial gnosis which, according to the common Vehicle, is confined to the single mental continuum of a person (*gang zag gi rgyud nyi tse bas bsdu pa*) from the path

¹³³ *de'i mtshan gyi rnam grangs gzhan yang/ gzhung so so'i dgongs pas dbang gis btags pa/ kun tu bzang po dang/ dang po'i sangs rgyas dang/ chos kyi dbyings dang/ yang dag pa'i mtha' dang/ chos nyid byang chub kyi sems dang/ de bzhin nyid dang/ don dam pa'i bden pa dang/ rang byung gi ye shes dang/ bde gshegs snying po dang/ srid zhi kun khyab kyi ye shes dang/ rang bzhin 'od gsal gnyug ma'i sems dang/ 'da' dka' thugs kyi ye shes dang/ lhan skyes bde ba chen po dang/ rgyu'i he ru ka dang/ dbu ma chen po dang/ phyag rgya chen po dang/ rdzogs pa chen po ste chen po gsum gyi gtan la phab pa'i mthar thug gi don dang gzhan yang mdo rgyud rnam nas mtshan gyi rnam grangs du mas bstan pa'i don 'di nyid kho na'o//*

¹³⁴ The term *gzhan byung ye shes*, though used by Mi-pham in his discussion in the *dKar chag*, is not used by Rong-zom-pa and most probably was created after his time (cf. note 136).

of learning (*slob lam*) to the path of no more learning (*mi slob lam*);¹³⁵ he thus uses the term "*ye shes rang rgyud pa*", henceforth translated as "primordial gnosis [confined to a single] mental continuum" as a synonym to "*gzhan byung ye shes*".¹³⁶ Although Mi-pham does not state it explicitly, it seems that this type of primordial gnosis is, from his view-point which accords with the mode of the Mantrayāna, to be understood as the "knowledge or wisdom of the Noble One or saint" (*'phags pa'i mkhyen pa*),¹³⁷ or rather, as that very same self-arisen primordial gnosis as it is seen from the aspect of its conventional mode of appearing (*tha snyad snang tshul*)—namely, arisen due to factors and conditions, that is the applications of the various methods of the path—and not from the aspect of its conventional mode of abiding (*tha snyad gnas tshul*)—namely, self-arisen, that is, being revealed rather than generated.¹³⁸

Two other terms—"non-conceptualizing primordial gnosis" (*rnam par mi rtog pa'i ye shes*) and "pure mundane primordial gnosis" (*dag pa 'jig rten pa'i ye shes*)—occur in the discussion several times. Each of these terms connotes a different aspect of that same primordial gnosis: The first stands for qualitative knowledge (*ji lta ba'i mkhyen pa*) which knows the real nature of all phenomena, that is, emptiness, and the latter for quantitative knowledge (*ji snyed pa'i mkhyen pa*) which knows all phenomena.¹³⁹ While the Buddhas are said to perceive and know the phenomena both qualitatively and quantitatively simultaneously, the Noble Ones who have reached the first stage (*sa*) and above are said to be able to know phenomena qualitatively while in meditative equipose (*mnyam bzhag ye shes*) and quantitatively between the meditation sessions as its aftermath (*rjes thob ye shes*).

¹³⁵ Cf. Padmasambhava's auto-commentary '*Grel pa rin chen phreng ba*', p.160.

¹³⁶ In his *The Great Perfection*, Karmay translates *rang byung ye shes* as "intellect born of oneself" and *gzhan byung ye shes* as "intellect born of others". According to him (p. 114, note 42), Rong-zom-pa uses the term *rang byung ye shes* as a synonym of self-awareness (*rang rig*). The term *gzhan byung ye shes*, he says, is believed to have been created through the perception of *gzhan rig* and, like the term *gzhan stong*, is also peculiar to the Jo-nang-pas.

¹³⁷ Karmay presents (ibid., p. 115, note 42) Dol-bu-pa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan's explanation of *rang byung ye shes* and *gzhan byung ye shes* which seems to be similar to this interpretation.

¹³⁸ On Mi-pham's use of the terms *tha snyad snang tshul* and *tha snyad gnas tshul*, see below.

¹³⁹ Gyurme Dorje translates these "types" of primordial gnosis as "pristine cognition which qualitatively knows (the view)" and "pristine cognition which quantitatively knows (phenomena)" (see the NSTB Vol. 1, p. 140). Based on this terminology, I chose to translate these two knowledges as "qualitative knowledge" and "quantitative knowledge", respectively.

In his discussion Mi-pham criticizes those who, having not understood the real meaning of the sphere of reality being free of manifoldness (*spros bral*), maintain that the stage of Buddhahood is mere emptiness (*stong rkyang*). They, says Mi-pham, assert that Rong-zom-pa maintains that the stage of Buddhahood is free of manifoldness and that he therefore completely denies the existence of primordial gnosis on this stage. Mi-pham argues that those persons did not understand the teachings of Rong-zom-pa who, in spite of maintaining that the sphere of reality is beyond manifoldness, has never maintained that "being free from manifoldness" means mere emptiness as understood through non-affirming negations alone. Mi-pham's main argumentation is that Rong-zom-pa could not have possibly made such assertions which do not stand in harmony with the views of the Great Perfection. The Great Perfection, he asserts, teaches the indivisibility of the ground and the fruit, and therefore, if the primordial gnosis already exists at the foundation level, how could Rong-zom-pa deny its existence at the fruit level! According to Mi-pham, Rong-zom-pa denies the existence of what Mi-pham calls primordial gnosis "arisen from another" but not that of the "self-arisen" primordial gnosis. Since the nature of the mind is primordial gnosis, argues Mi-pham, it is self-arisen, and therefore, the so-called primordial gnosis arisen from another, namely, the primordial gnosis that arises due to causes and conditions such as meditation, cannot exist on the stage of Buddhahood.

An analysis of Mi-pham's own views concerning the stage of Buddhahood and, in particular, the existence of the primordial gnosis on this stage is crucial for the understanding of Mi-pham's interpretation of Rong-zom-pa's writings on this matter. It is therefore worthwhile to present a few passages from his *Lotus that Establishes the Supreme [Fruit]* (*mChog grub pa'i utpal*)—a work in which he establishes the Tathāgata's inconceivable secret of the Buddha-Body.¹⁴¹ Describing the Tathāgata, he says (p. 49):

¹⁴⁰ See his *dKar chag*, pp. 246-335 (my translation, pp. 100-110).

¹⁴¹ This is one of his so-called *Five Lotus* (*Utpal lnga*), a set of small works written in verses in which he establishes the Tathāgata's Five Secret Ornamental Wheels (*de bzhin gshegs pa'i gsang ba rgyan gyi 'khor lo lnga*), namely: 1) the Tathāgata's inconceivable secret of Buddha-Body (*de bzhin gshegs pa'i sku'i gsang ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa*), 2) the

The Tathāgata, the accomplished [fruit], is called
 The Body of the Adamantine Primordial Gnosis.
 The pure Body which is the indivisibility of the sphere of reality and
 primordial gnosis
 Is accomplished and free from decreases and increases.¹⁴²

In his writings, Mi-pham attempts to explain the seemingly contradictory teachings on this matter by laying emphasis on the view-points from which the different statements were made. He resolves apparent contradictions by considering each view from three perspectives: 1) the conventional mode of appearing (*tha snyad snang tshul*), 2) the conventional mode of abiding (*tha snyad gnas tshul*), and 3) the ultimate level. This approach of Mi-pham, can be found, for example, in some of the passages where he discusses the question of whether the Tathāgata is permanent or impermanent. In his *mChog grub pa'i utpal*, he says (p.7₁₂):

For Buddhist and non-Buddhist extremists
 Who, through the mode of causes and results,
 Establish the Sugata as impermanent,
 He also exists [as such] by virtue of the mode of appearing.¹⁴³

However, as he states further in the same text (p. 9₁₆), according to the conventional mode of abiding, the Sugata is permanent:

From the perspective of the conventional level, in [his] mode of abiding,
 [the Sugata] exists as permanent, and therefore [such assertion] is
 valid.¹⁴⁴

Tathāgata's inconceivable secret of Buddha-Speech (*de bzhin gshegs pa'i gsung gi gsang ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa*), 3) the Tathāgata's inconceivable secret of Buddha-Mind (*de bzhin gshegs pa'i thugs gsang ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa*), 4) the Tathāgata's inconceivable secret of good qualities (*de bzhin gshegs pa'i yon tan gsang ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa*) and 5) the Tathāgata's inconceivable secret of enlightened activities (*de bzhin gshegs pa'i phrin las gsang ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa*).

¹⁴² *de bzhin gshegs pa mthar thug ni//
 ye shes rdo rje'i sku zhes bya//
 dbyings ye dbyer med dag pa'i sku//
 mthar thug bri gang bral ba'o//*

¹⁴³ *phyi dang nang gi mu stegs can//
 rnams la rgyu 'bras tshul gyis ni//
 bde gshegs mi rtag sgrub par byed//
 snang tshul dbang gis de yang grub//*

Hence, any enlightened phenomenon, such as the Buddha-Bodies, the primordial gnosis, etc., though appearing to be impermanent, abides as permanent even on the conventional level. Likewise, also the primordial gnosis which appears to be an impermanent, conditional phenomenon, that is, a phenomenon that has arisen from other causes and conditions, is, in fact, permanent and unconditional in its conventional mode of abiding, and therefore self-arisen. However, at the ultimate level (*don dam par*) which is beyond all conventions (*tha snyad thams cad las 'das pa*), the concepts of being permanent or impermanent, pure or impure, existing and non-existing, etc. are no longer applicable; the ultimate truth is non-dual (*gnyis med*) and without any dualistic distinctions. Mi-pham states further (p. 915):

In the absence of dualistic phenomena,

There are no dualistic distinctions on the ultimate [level].¹⁴⁵

Furthermore, Mi-pham, in his collection of miscellaneous writings on the Great Perfection (*rDzogs skor*) (pp. 246₃-248₂), says that if one considers the following pairs: pure and impure, permanent and impermanent, conditional and unconditional, relative and ultimate, and apparitional reality (*chos can*) and actual reality (*chos nyid*), the latter ones—impure, impermanent, etc.—are on the same footing as the former ones—pure, permanent, etc.: In the mode of appearing, the former ones are valid, in the mode of abiding, the latter ones are valid, and on the ultimate level, both are deceptive. Hence, the question whether the primordial gnosis exists on the stage of the Buddhahood is relevant only from the perspective of the conventional level, because the question of permanence or impermanence, existence or non-existence, pure or impure, self-arisen or arisen from another, does not arise at all at the ultimate level.

In his discussion in the *dKar chag*, Mi-pham supports his arguments with citations from Rong-zom-pa's *Sangs rgyas sa chen mo*—a work in which he establishes the stage of Buddhahood as the thoroughly pure sphere of reality,

¹⁴⁴ *tha snyad kyis ni gnas tshul du//*

rtag par grub phyir de stobs ldan//

¹⁴⁵ *gnyis chos med la gnyis nyid kyi//*

rnam par 'byed pa don la med//

and thus negates the existence of attributes such as the non-conceptualizing primordial gnosis, the pure mundane primordial gnosis, and the various Buddha-Bodies. Mi-pham uses mainly the passages in which Rong-zom-pa explains that all the attributes of the Buddhas appear to the disciples naturally by virtue of the thorough purity of the sphere of reality, just like a reflection arises by virtue of a pure surface of a mirror. Mi-pham calls the primordial gnosis which arises in this way "self-arisen" primordial gnosis. He cites one more important passage where Rong-zom-pa, after having maintained that the stage of Buddhahood is the mere sphere of reality, states that since the stage of Buddhahood is an inconceivable phenomenon, one cannot make any definite assertions regarding it and that he therefore does not explicitly deny the existence of primordial gnosis on this stage.

Some passages from Rong-zom-pa's *Rang byung ye shes*—a work in which he establishes the teachings of the Mantrayāna which maintain that all phenomena are the display of the self-arisen primordial gnosis as teachings of definite meanings—are cited in the following pages. In his argumentations Rong-zom-pa emphasises the need, on one hand, to consider each view within its philosophical system and, on the other, to understand each statement in its exact context, namely, whether it has been said from the view-point of wrong conventional truth (*log pa'i kun rdzob*), correct conventional truth (*yang dag kun rdzob*) or ultimate truth (*don dam par*). Examining the various views or statements in this way, he says, one will realise that each of them are correct within their own philosophical system and can be proved through both logic and the authoritative scriptures. Using this argumentation, he establishes the non-existence of all phenomena from the view-point of ultimate truth and their existence as either pure phenomena from the view-point of correct conventional truth or their existence as deceptive phenomena from the view-point of wrong conventional truth. It seems that Mi-pham bases his argumentation on this view of Rong-zom-pa's—which is to be found not only in his *Rang byung ye shes* but also in other works, among which the most important in this respect is his *sNang ba lhar sgrub*—and correlates his own distinction between the mode of appearing, the mode of abiding, and the ultimate level with Rong-zom-pa's distinction of wrong conventional truth,

correct conventional truth and the ultimate truth. In addition, Mi-pham uses the argument, as already mentioned, that Rong-zom-pa advocates the indivisibility of the two truths, that is, the indivisibility of emptiness (*stong*) and appearance (*gsal*), on the fruit level. This manifests itself in the indivisibility of the sphere of reality and primordial gnosis respectively. The passages of Rong-zom-pa's *Rang byung ye shes* presented here, I believe, not only demonstrate the complexity and the versatility of Rong-zom-pa's approach but also presage Mi-pham's argumentations. There Rong-zom-pa says (fol. 256a₃-256b₂):

Therefore, also the teachings that although an ordinary being [has] a common perception, he is endowed with self-arising primordial gnosis are not words of intended meaning. One should know that they are straightforward teachings and therefore also that this meaning is actual. This 'being actual' (*mtshan nyid pa*) is not maintained by the texts of the Mantrayāna as being 'substantially [existent]' (*rdzas su [yod pa]*). [Self-arisen primordial gnosis] is, like [the ordinary mind], non-substantial. However, temporarily, [that is, at the conventional level], [the phenomena] are established as 'actual' and 'non-actual' on the mere [basis of] being 'true' and 'non-true'. For example, wise people, though the bluishness and fluctuation of a fata morgana do not substantially exist, say to the fools who mistake the fata morgana for water, 'This is not water, this is a fata morgana'. They show the water as non-actual and the fata morgana as actual. Furthermore, the Mahāyānists, though they do not maintain that a rope, grass and the fractions of the particles are substantial, teach those fools who mistake the rope for a snake that the rope is actual, saying, 'This is not a snake, this is a rope'.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ *de ltar na so so'i skye bo tha mal pa'i shes pa'ang rang 'byung gi ye shes can no// zhes gsungs pa 'di'ang dgongs pa'i tshig ma yin te/ gzugs por gsungs pa nyid yin pas/ don 'di yang mtshan nyid pa yin par shes par bya'o// mtshan nyid pa 'di yang gsang sngags kyi gzhung gis rdzas su 'dod pa ni ma yin mod kyi rdzas su med par 'dra yang/ re zhig bden pa dang/ bden pa ma yin pa tsam du mtshan nyid pa dang mtshan nyid pa ma yin pa sgrub ste/ dper na skyes bu mkhas pa dag/ smig rgyu la sngo ba dang gyo ba'i rdzas med par grub kyang/ blun po smig rgyu la chur 'khrul pa dag la/ 'di chu ma yin te smig rgyu yin no zhes/ chu ni mtshan nyid pa ma yin pa la smig rgyu ni mtshan nyid par ston no// gzhan yang theg pa chen po pa dang/ thag pa dang rtswa dang rdul gyi cha shas dag rdzas su mi 'dod kyang blun po dag thag pa la sbrul du 'khrul pa dag la 'di ni sbrul ma yin te/ thag pa yin no zhes thag pa mshan nyid par ston no//*

And (256b₄-257a₁):

Likewise, also according to the tradition of the Mantrayāna, even though it is maintained that no object exists as substantial even in the conventional level, temporarily maintaining the texts of the Lower Vehicle, they teach by saying to the persons who [hold to] a lower view: 'The deceptive perception [of the living beings] of the three realms and its results, [that is, the deceptive appearances], do not exist, not even on the conventional level, in the way they appear. All [phenomena] are the self-arisen primordial gnosis, the maṇḍala of the display of the primordial gnosis.' [And this] is taught as their characteristics. Also these Buddha-Bodies and the primordial gnosis do not exist in such characteristics. As far as the characteristic of all phenomena is concerned, it is maintained that neither [the phenomena] can be analyzed nor their characteristic can be grasped, and therefore [they] are indivisible like a diamond, and therefore [this way of teaching] is called the Adamantine Vehicle. Therefore, all such appearances are thoroughly pure by their essence, and they do not exist at all as actual, rather only temporarily; since these characteristics are the engagement objects of the self-presencing of the primordial gnosis, [they] are the maṇḍala of the display of the primordial gnosis, and therefore, since it is true up to this extent, everything is possible. If one keeps this in mind and stabilizes the appearances in this way, since [these appearances] are non-deceptive in regard to [achieving] the rank of nirvāṇa, [they] are the [most] sublime of all appearances, and therefore this is referred to as the correct conventional truth. The other appearances are deceptive in regard to [achieving] nirvāṇa, and therefore, though they are similar [in the sense that they both] appear, this is [referred to as] wrong conventional truth.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ *de bzhin du gsang sngags kyi tshul las kyang/ chos gang la kun rdzob kyi rdzas tsam du yang yod pa ma yin par 'dod mod kyi/ re zhig theg pa 'og ma'i gzhung bzungs nas/ lta ba dman pa'i gang zag rnam la 'di skad du ston par 'gyur te/ khams gsum pa'i 'khrul pa'i shes pa dang/ de'i rnam par smin pa 'di dag ni/ ji ltar snang ba 'di ltar kun rdzob tu yang yod pa ma yin te/ thams cad rang byung gi ye shes dang/ ye shes rol pa'i dkyil 'khor yin no// zhes de'i mtshan nyid du ston to// sku dang ye shes de dag kyang de lta bu'i mtshan nyid du yang grub pa med de chos thams cad kyi mtshan nyid ni/ gang ltar yang rnam par bzhag cing mtshan nyid gzung du med pas rdo rje ltar dbyer mi phyed pa'i phyir rdo rje'i theg pa zhes kyang 'dod do// de bas na 'di ltar snang ba thams cad ngo bo nyid kyi rnam par dag*

And he continues (fols. 260a₂-261a₂):

Therefore, there is no fault in establishing more or less deceptive appearances as deceptive or non-deceptive or as either existent or non-existent. For instance, while analyzing the [apparent] snake, rope, fractions, particles, emptiness, etc., in terms of pairs, [namely, snake and rope, rope and fractions, fractions and particles, etc.], even if one says, "The first one [in each pair] does not exist", it is not a false deprecation, and even if one says, "The latter one exists", it is not a false imputation. Even if one says in regard to their perception, "The perception of the first ones is deceptive", this is not a false deprecation, and even if one says, "The perception of the latter ones is not a deceptive perception", it is not a false imputation either. Also the statement, "Just as it is established as deceptive, so it is [also] non-substantial", is not a false deprecation, and the statement, "Just as it is non-deceptive, so it is [also] substantial", is not a false imputation either. Therefore, both 'substantial' and 'non-substantial', 'deceptive' and 'non-deceptive' do not exist in the characteristics of the phenomena as such. The characteristics of the phenomena are merely considered according to the degree of the intellectual capacity. For these [different] meanings, [there are] proofs through both the authoritative scriptures and logic, and therefore, some [people], who hold to their own tenet systems, should not say in regard to the assertion of the Mantrayāna that all appearances are the maṇḍala of the appearance of the self-arisen primordial gnosis, that it is taught as an antidote (*gnyen po*),¹⁴⁸ and that it is not actual, or, that these are imputed visible forms and visible forms gained through being engaged in

*pa yin zhing mtshan nyid par grub pa gang yang med pa dang/ re shig tsam du ye shes rang
snang ba'i spyod yul yin pas/ ye shes rol pa'i dkyil 'khor yin pas/ 'di tsam du bden pa'i
phyir gang gis gang du'ang rung ste/ 'di ltar yid la byas shing 'di lta bur snang ba bstan par
gyur na/ myang na las 'das pa'i go 'phang la mi slu ba'i phyir/ snang ba thams cad kyi
nang na dam pa yin pas/ kun rdzob kyi bden pa yang dag pa'i kun rdzob ces kyang tha
snyad gdags so// snang ba gzhan ni thar pa'i don la slu ba'i phyir snang du 'dra yang log
pa'i kun rdzob yin no//*

¹⁴⁸ Mi-pham, in his *mKhas 'jug* (pp. 505-512), names three intentions for teachings of provisional meaning (*drang don*): *mtshan nyid ldem por dgongs pa* (p. 506₁₆), *gnyen po ldem por dgongs pa* (p. 507₁) and *bsgyur ba ldem por dgongs pa* (p. 509₉).

meditative concentration¹⁴⁹ and therefore non-actual, or, that those authoritative scriptures are not straightforward teachings but they were taught with an intended meaning. Also the persons who hold to the tenet system of the Mantrayāna should manifest [themselves], like the Buddha, for the sake of the living beings in those maṇḍalas of display, after realizing and becoming accustomed to the [idea] that all appearances—when considered from a temporary [view-point, namely, from the conventional level] as being appearances of deceptive perception—are the maṇḍala of the display of the primordial gnosis, and that [maṇḍala] is merely the self-presencing of primordial gnosis, and this primordial gnosis is self-arisen. If this very self-arisen primordial gnosis does not exist at the ultimate [level], how could the maṇḍala of its display exist?¹⁵⁰

As can be seen, Rong-zom-pa not only considers the different views of the various tenet systems each from their own point of view but also proves each of them to be correct from the different perspectives, namely, those of the

¹⁴⁹ Imputed visible form (*kun brtags pa'i gzugs*) and visible form gained through being engaged in meditative concentration (*dbang 'byor ba'i gzugs*) are two of the five visible forms of the sources of perception of objects (*chos kyi skye mched pa'i gzugs lnga*). On these five forms, see, for example, Mi-pham's *mKhas 'jug*, p. 160.

¹⁵⁰ *de bas na 'khrul pa che chung gi snang ba la 'khrul pa dang ma 'khrul par rnam par bzhag pa dang/ yod pa dang med par rnam par bzhag pa 'di la nyes skyon med de/ ji ltar sbrul dang thag pa dang cha shas dang rdul dang stong pa nyid la sogs pa la gnyis ltos nas bzhag pa'i tshe/ snga ma snga ma rnam med do// zhes brjod pa yang skur ba ma btab pa yin la/ phyi ma phyi ma rnam yod do// zhes brjod pa yang sgro ma btags pa yin no// de dag gi shes pa la yang snga ma snga ma'i shes pa ni 'khrul pa yin no// zhes brjod pa yang skur pa btab pa ma yin la/ phyi ma phyi ma'i shes pa rnam ma 'khrul pa'i shes pa yin no// zhes bya ba 'di yang sgro btags pa ma yin no// ji ltar ji ltar 'khrul par bzhag pa de lta de ltar rdzas su med pa yin no// zhes bya ba 'di yang skur pa btab pa ma yin la/ ji lta ji ltar ma 'khrul pa yin pa de de lta de ltar rdzas su grub pa yin no// zhes bya ba 'di yang sgro btags pa ma yin no// de bas na rdzas dang rdzas med pa dang/ 'khrul pa dang ma 'khrul pa gnyis ka yang chos rnam kyi mtshan nyid la de ltar bzod pa ni med do// blo'i stobs che chung las chos kyi mtshan nyid kyang rnam par gzhag pa tsam du zad do// don 'di dag gi phyir na/ lung dang rigs pa gnyis gas grub pa yin pas/ gsang sngags kyi tshul las snang ba thams cad rang byung gi ye shes rang snang ba'i dkyil 'khor du 'dod pa 'di la/ rang gi grub pa'i mtha' 'dzin pa la dag/ 'di dag ni gnyen po'i don du gsungs pa yin te/ mtshan nyid pa ma yin no// zhe'am/ kun brtags pa dang dbang 'byor pa'i gzugs yin te mtshan nyid pa ma yin no// zhe'am/ lung de'ang dgongs pa'i dbang gis gsungs pa yin te/ gzugs por gsungs pa yin no// zhes de skad ma zer shig/ gsang sngags kyi grub pa'i mtha' 'dzin pa'i gang zag rnam kyis kyang snang ba thams cad kyang re zhig shes pa 'khrul pa snang ba'i dbang du ni/ ye shes rol pa'i dkyil 'khor yin la/ de yang ye shes rang snang ba tsam ste ye shes de'ang rang 'byung yin la/ rang 'byung gi ye shes de nyid kyang yang dag par ma grub na/ 'di'i rol pa'i dkyil 'khor lta ga la 'grub/ ces kyang rtogs shing goms par byas nas/ rol pa'i dkyil 'khor de dag la'ang sangs rgyas dang mthun par 'gro ba'i don du sprul par bya'o//*

wrong and correct conventional levels and that of the ultimate level. Though he clearly maintains that the self-arisen primordial gnosis and the maṇḍala of its display do not exist as such at the ultimate level, he establishes the teachings that all phenomena are the display of the self-arisen primordial gnosis as definitive teachings, and thus establishes all phenomena as pure at the correct conventional level as understood from the view-point of the Mantrayāna, and it seems that it is this distinction that serves as a base for Mi-pham's interpretation.

I. THE CRITICAL EDITION

A. SOURCES AND METHODS

The critical edition of Mi-pham's catalogue presented below is based on two version:

- T: the version included in *Rong zom bka' 'bum* (pp. 1-39) published in Thimphu by Kunsang Topgay in 1976; this was reproduced from a manuscript copy of an incomplete print from the Zhe-chen blocks
- S: the version included in the xylograph edition of the RZSB (Vol. 1, fols. [I-XX]) printed in Shrī-seng in rDzogs-chen monastery by Padma-kun-grol (in the 1980s?)¹⁵¹

For the section relating the biography of Rong-zom-pa, I also consulted other older biographies used as a source by Mi-pham.¹⁵² When differences occurred in this part of the *dKar chag*, and when both versions seemed suitable, I chose the version which agreed with most of the other biographies used by Mi-pham.

The print of T is for the most part clearer but does not necessarily have fewer corruptions than S. The quality of the print of S is fair, and often it is difficult to differentiate between visually similar letters such as *ba* and *pa*, *nga* and *da*, etc. The two versions contain different punctuation, and T uses far fewer *shad* than S. I did not make note of these differences and followed the punctuation of T which does not contain unnecessary *shad* without making any changes, except in few cases where it would have affected the meaning, i.e., in cases of obvious confusion between a single and a double *shad*.

¹⁵¹ It is important to mention that the *dKar chag* is not included in *Mi-pham's bka' 'bum*. The *dKar chag* was reprinted in the Yeshe De Project edition of the RZSB. Nevertheless, since I obtained the reprint only a few weeks before the completion of my own work, I was not able to take it into consideration in the following critical edition.

¹⁵² For details on these biographies, see the introduction, pp. 24-37, and the bibliography.

When both versions seemed to be unsuitable due to disagreements with the grammatical rules of the Tibetan language—that is, mostly regarding cases of particles and verbs—I inserted the correct particle or word within pointed brackets ("< >").

To facilitate easier orientation, I have supplied the pagination of both T and S in raised pointed brackets ("< >") to mark the beginning of each page. In the case of T, I have followed its modern pagination (arabic numbers), and in the case of S, which lacks any modern pagination, I have given the folio numbers along with the letters "a" or "b" to indicate the recto or verso of the folio respectively.

For the sake of easier reading, I have presented the text divided into separate passages. After a double *shad*, when this indicates the end of a "sentence", I start a new passage. I also present any verses separate from the main text, and mark most citations, when these occur, by starting a new line. I also number the texts of *Rong-zom's Collected Writings* listed by Mi-pham by inserting the numbers within square brackets ("[]") as I have in my translation.

In those cases where the sign ཨ, which is used to mark a syllable, occurs, I have underlined the syllable (e.g., gzhan), and instead of the sign ལ, which is used to mark the volume number, I have employed quotation marks (e.g., "a").

B. THE TEXT

<T1/ S1a> bi shā ra da bā gmi¹⁵³ rī nya sa pu ṣpa mmā¹⁵⁴ lya mbi ha ra ti sma/ //

rong zom gsung 'bum dkar chag me tog phreng ba bzugs so// //

<T2/ S1b> om swa sti bi dza yantu/

lha mi'i ston pa mtshungs med nyi ma'i gnyen//

rgyal sras 'jam pa'i dbyangs dang rgyal tshab che//

¹⁵³ S: mwi

¹⁵⁴ S: mma

'dzam gling rgyan mchog rgya bod mkhas grub bcas//

dngos brgyud bla ma'i tshogs la phyag bgyi'o//

'jam dpal sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i ye she kyi//

rol pa mkhyen gnyis nyi ma'i 'od zer can//

gangs can mkhas pa yongs kyi gtsug gi rgyan//

rong zom chos kyi bzang po rgyal gyur¹⁵⁵ cig//

rgyal sras dpa' bo snyigs dus bstan 'gro'i ngon//

gzhan phan thugs bskyed phrin las mtha' yas pa'i//

'od zer drwa¹⁵⁶ bas phyogs kun rab gsal ba//

dpal ldan bla ma'i zhabs la phyag bgyis nas//

dam pa rnam^{<T3>} kyi phyag rjes dge mtshan gyi//

^{<S2a>}ri mo bsub tu med par gsal ba'i phyir//

legs bshad 'di dang 'brel ba'i lo rgyus bcas//

dkar chag nyung ngu rnam gsal brjod par bya^{</>}¹⁵⁷

de yang gangs can bod kyi yul 'dir sprul pa'i lo paṇ¹⁵⁸ chos rgyal rnam kyis
dam pa'i chos mdo sngags gnyis ka'i bshad sgrub kyi snang ba chen po khyab
par brdal ba'i rjes su dam pa'i skyes bu du ma byon cing/ gsang sngags snga
'gyur dang phyi 'gyur zhes pa'i mtshan gyi tha snyad chags pa'i mgo rtsom pa'i
dus skabs der/ 'jam dpal gzhon nu mi yi zol du bzhengs pa rong zom paṇḍi
ta chen po zhes gangs can 'di na dus gsum du yang 'gran zla dang bral^{<T4>} pa'i
mkhas pa chen po 'di byon pa yin te/ de yang gtsang ru lag smad kyi sa'i cha
snar lung rong zhes par/ grub^{<S2b>} pa'i sngags brgyud khyad par can gyi rigs
rong ban rin chen tshul khrims zhes bya ba'i sras su 'khrungs/ sku bltam pa
tsam nas mkhyen pa'i yon tan lhun grub tu mnga' zhing dam pa'i mdzad spyod
sgrib med du gsal ba'i rgyu des/ yab sogs skye bo kha cig gis paṇḍi ta smṛ ti
dznyā na'i sku'i skye ba de ma thag pa yin par gleng/ kha cig gis paṇḍi ta

¹⁵⁵ S: rgyur

¹⁵⁶ T: dra

¹⁵⁷ T & S: one *shad*

¹⁵⁸ S: baṇ

phra la ring mo¹⁵⁹ zhes pa bod du byon pa de'i sku skyer gleng/ byis pa ma yi
pang du bzhugs pa'i dus nas kyang legs sbyar gyi skad dang chos gtam sna
tshogs mdzad par 'dug pa de/ mas pang du bzung zhing gnyen dag dang bcas
jo bo chen po mar me mdzad kyi spyan sngar song ste rong gi chu tshen¹⁶⁰
khar mjal zhing/ byis pa 'di skyes tsam nas rgya skad dang chos gtam sna
tshogs smra ba zhib 'dug pa 'di ji 'dra zhib yin/ jo bos 'di la chos gtam zhib
mdzod ces zhus pa dang/ jo bos byis pa de sku pang du bzhes nas zhal 'dzum
pa dang ldan par ki¹⁶¹ na ho/ zhes sogs rgya gar gyi skad kyi dri ba mdzad
pa la byis pas lan thogs pa med par btab pas/ jo bo'i zhal nas/ ā <tsā>¹⁶² rya
nag po spyod pa chen po de nyid tshe 'phos ma thag pa <T5> 'di yin te/ kho
bos 'di la chos gtam bya ga la btub ces bsngags shing gus pa mdzad pas¹⁶³
sprul pa'i sku rtsod med du thams cad la grags par gyur/ de skabs kha cig gis
nag po spyod pa bar dor <S3a> sangs rgyas pas skye ba len pa mi 'thad ces ma
brtag¹⁶⁴ par smra/ kha cig gis nag po pa bar dor mchog grub par¹⁶⁵ gsungs
mod gal te sangs rgyas yin na yang/ bzo dang skye ba byang chub chen po'i
sprul pa ci ste mi 'byung zhes gleng/ byis pa'i dus su rgya gar gyi a¹⁶⁶ tsa ra
mthong tshad la dgyes shing rang bzhin gyis phan tshun skad brda 'phrod par
byung/ sku na chung ngu'i skabs su 'gar ston tshul khrims bzang po las gsan
pa mdzad pa'i tshe/ chos gtam gyis rtsed mo'i bgro gleng gis der 'khod rnams
kyi spobs pa zil gyis mnan par gyur pas/ res gcig yab rgyags skyel du byon
dus/ der 'khod tshos grwa¹⁶⁷ pa dag na re/ khyed kyi bu chung ngu 'di tho
co che bas/ nged cag nam kun sun 'byin la rno bas 'di phyir khrid na 'thad
ces zer ba/ yab kyi slob dpon la zhus nas phyir 'khrid dam byas pa la/ slob
dpon gyis de skad ma zer cig/ khos chos thams cad phyin ci ma log par go
nas yod pas yin/ don med kyi sun 'byin min gsungs/ lo bcu <T6> gnyis pa la
mtshan nyid dang tshad ma'i rigs lam sbyang/ chos mtshams rnams su byis
pa'i rtse sar yang slob dpon gyis gang gsungs tshad chad lhag med pa spar btab

¹⁵⁹ T: pa

¹⁶⁰ T: chen

¹⁶¹ S: ko

¹⁶² T & S: tsa

¹⁶³ S: bas

¹⁶⁴ S: brtags

¹⁶⁵ T: bar

¹⁶⁶ S: ā

¹⁶⁷ S: gra

pa lta bu shar re gsungs par mdzad/ gang gsan pa¹⁶⁸ <S3b> thams cad tshar
gcig kho nas tshig gcig kyang ma nor bar thugs su chud pas 'jam dpal gyi sprul
par yongs su grags pa byung/ dgung lo bcu gsum na gsan bsam¹⁶⁹ mtha' dag
rdzogs te gsar du de la sus kyang bslab pa'i skyed 'don du med pa lta bur gyur/
bi barta'i pus ti sogs la bslab pa med kyang gzigs pa tsam gyis mkhyen pa
tshegs med par byung/ sam skṛ ta sogs skad rigs sna tshogs dang tha na dud
'gro rnam ki brda dang skad ki rim pa yang rang bzhin gyis mkhyen par
grags/ byis pa chung ngu'i dus nas smra sgo'i 'grel pa sogs bstan bcos mang
po mdzad/ chos la mos pa rnam dang/ khyad par gsang sngags ki sgor
zhugs pa rnam la las dang dngos grub sgrub pa'i gdams pa sna tshogs ki
phan pa tshad med par mdzad/ phyi nang gi rig gnas dang gtsug lag thams
cad dang/ rig byed dang/ tshad ma'i bstan bcos dang tshigs bcad dang
snyan ngag gi gzhung sogs 'phags bod du yongs su grags pa rnam lta ci <T7>
smos ki/ so so'i gzhung nyi tse ba tsam la brten pa min pa'i gzhung lugs
rgya che mu med pa'i rnam bzhag rang bzhin gyi thugs la mnga' bas so so yang
dag rig pa bzhi thob pa'i 'phags chen gyi mtshan <S4a> nyid dngos su gsal bar
gyur/ mdo rgyud bstan bcos ki rgya gzhung brling ba sngar ma gzigs pa
rnam kyang tshar re'am mang yang gnyis las lhag par gzigs ma dgos par de
dag gi tshig dang don gi cha ma lus pa thugs su chud cing/ slar dpe la ltos
mi dgos pa'i mi brjed pa'i gzungs thob par grags/ rje nyid ki zhal nas/
bdag thos pa chung ba yang ma yin te/ bod du 'gyur pa'i chos thams cad ma
thos pa med do// thos pa ha cang myur bar 'dzin pa yang ma yin te/ chos
thos pa thams cad tshar re las ma dgos so zhes gsung skad/ 'di ni chos rgyun
gyi ting nge 'dzin thob pas chos tshad med pa skad cig re res 'dzin mod ki/
thun mong gi ngor gsan bsam mdzad tshul dang bstun pa'i gsungs go rgyu can
yin par snang ngo//

rgya bod ki skad sbyar¹⁷⁰ nas don gi 'jug tshul ston pa'i brda chad la 'gran zla
med cing/ shes bya mtha' dag gi don la rigs pa'i lam gyis mtha' rjen par dpogs
pa'i mkhyen rab dri ma med pa/ zab pa dang rgya che ba myur <T8> ba'i spobs
pa 'gran zla dang bral ba'i dbang gi/ phyogs ki glang po'i shes rab/ chos

¹⁶⁸ S: ba

¹⁶⁹ T: pas ma

¹⁷⁰ S: sngar

kyi grags pa'i brgal brtag/ dbyig gnyen zhabs kyi thos pa/ tsandra go mi'i¹⁷¹
 brjod pa/ slob dpon dpa' bo'i rtsom ^{<S4b>} pa lnga gang zag gcig la 'dzom pa lta
 bu yin zhes mkhas pa du mas tshogs kyi dbus su bstod pa'i 'os su gyur/ khyad
 par sgra dang tshad ma'i gzhung la 'di las lhag pa bod du ma zad 'phags yul
 du'ang med ces de dus kyi mkhas pa rnams kyis bsngags/ gzhan yang de dus
 kyi skye bo dag gis/

mur pa tshur ston yi ge mkhas//
 chog¹⁷² sgrigs grangs kyi me grags mkhas//
 sgra tshad 'gos lo khug pa mkhas//
 thams cad 'dzom pa chos bzang tsam//

zhes sogs de 'dra ba'i tshigs bcad sna tshogs mtshar gtam du byas par grags/
 de lta bur shes bya mtha' dag la ma rmongs pa'i paṇḍi ta chen po 'dis/ gzhan
 la phan pa kho na'i thugs kyis mdo dang rgyud dang rig gnas dang tha na 'jig
 rten pa'i zhing las dang/ phyugs skyong ba/ dkar she ji ltar bsgrub pa tshun
 chad¹⁷³ kyis bstan bcos ches mang po mdzad de/ sngar gyi lo rgyus 'ga' zhig
 tu po ti drug cur long ba tsam yod ces dang/ 'ga' zhig las grangs mang po yod
 par bshad/ de dag las sngags ^{<T9>} kyi man ngag phal che ba mkha' 'gros gdan
 drangs nas song zhes kyang grags/ gdul bya'i rgyud dang dus mkhyen pa'i
 mngon shes thogs med mnga' zhing snying rje chen po'i thugs kyis phan 'dogs
 pa'i ched du brtsam pa 'ba' zhig yin phyir/ gang brtsam pa¹⁷⁴ de ^{<S5a>} dag gdul
 bya'i don du 'gyur ba dang/ 'dis mdzad pa'i sngags kyi gdams ngag rnams
 kyang slob brgyud pa dag gis lung ma thob kyang yi ge bzhin nyams su blangs
 pas byin rlabs kyi mtshan ma ma byung ba med ces sngar yongs su grags
 shing/ sku gshegs pa'i rjes su yang kha cig gis gsol ba btab pas dngos su byon
 nas gdams ngag rnams kyi dogs pa bcad pa sogs gsung rnams byin rlabs dang
 phan thogs khyad par 'phags par grags/ gzhung lugs gang rtsom par zhus
 kyang mi mkhyen pa med la/ rtsom pa'i tshe glegs bam bsdu gzigs sogs la
 cung zad ltos mi dgos par thogs med du brtsom par mdzad cing/ de ltar

¹⁷¹ T: ma'i

¹⁷² T: tshog

¹⁷³ T & S: chod

¹⁷⁴ S: ba

<brtsams>¹⁷⁵ pa rnams la lung rnams kyi tshig zur tsam yang nyams pa med
cing/ tshig 'bru bzang po/ don bzang po/ rigs pa dang 'brel ba/ sgros
gtsang ba/ tshig don gang thad nas chos dang mthun par skyon gdags pa'i
gzhi mi srid par gyur cing/ ^{<T10>} go ba'i gnad gting phyin par gsal ba'i bstan
bcos nam dag 'ba' zhig tu byung bas/ sangs rgyas kyi gsung dang rjes su
mthun par mkhas pa mtha' dag gis dang du len par gyur/ rgya gar gyi mkhan
po manydzu shrī warma dang/ manydzu shrī dznya na dang/ u pā ya shrī
mi tra dang/ buddha ka ra bha dra dang/ de bā ka ra tsandra dang/ pa ra
mi shwa ra dang/ a sho ka badzra la sogs pas rgya gar gyi paṇḍi ta mang po
^{<S5b>} bsten nas de dag gi lo tsā ba mdzad de/ rdo rje 'jigs byed dang/ rtog pa
gsum pa dang/ gshin rje gshed dgra nag gi rgyud dang/ 'jam dpal gsang
ldan dang/ bde mchog rtsa rgyud dang/ sngags don rdo rje rab 'byed sogs
bka' dang bstan bcos mang du bsgyur/ 'gyur shin tu bzang bas gsar 'gyur gyi
nang na phul du byung ba'i tshad du 'jog pa byung/ rgya gar gyi paṇḍi ta de
kun na re/ dharma bha dra khyod chos mang ba rtsom¹⁷⁶ la 'gro ba rnams
skyobs shig/ khyod kyi yon tan gzhan lta zhog/ sgra tshad kyi lugs 'di'i sum
cha tsam mi shes pas kyang nged rgya gar phyogs su chos rtsom pa mthong na
khyod ci'i phyir mi rtsom zhes gsungs/ sngar sku na gzhon pa'i dus shig/
mdo ston seng ge bya ba las snga 'gyur gyi chos skor gsan pa'i tshe mnal lam
du/ gsang ba ^{<T11>} snying po'i zan byas/ sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor gyis¹⁷⁷
tshad ma byas nas gsol ba rmis pa/ slob dpon la zhus tshe chos de dag khong
du chud pa'i rtags yin pas khyod kyis de dag la 'grel pa gyis gsungs pas bla ma'i
bka' bsgrub phyir/ sngags kyi bslab pa gsum la brten pa'i man ngag gsum
mdzad de/ lhag pa tshul khirms kyi bslab pa'i don gyi nges brjod dam tshig
mdo rgyas/ lhag pa ting nge 'dzin gyi bslab pa ston slad/ 'grel pa tshul bzhi
yan lag ^{<S6a>} bco lnga pa/ lhag pa shes rab kyi bslab pa ston byed rdzogs pa
chen po'i lta sgom man ngag gsum dang/ gzhan yang mnyam sbyor 'grel
pa¹⁷⁸ / ngan song sbyong¹⁷⁹ rgyud 'jigs byed sogs gshed skor gyi 'grel pa
dang man ngag sna tshogs dang/ theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa sogs bstan
bcos grangs shin tu mang po mdzad pa la/ dus de'i bod ru bzhi'i mkhas pa

¹⁷⁵ T: brtsam; S: brtsom

¹⁷⁶ S: brtsams

¹⁷⁷ T: gyi

¹⁷⁸ S: ba

¹⁷⁹ S: spyod

phal mo che las/ kha cig gis gus pas dang du blang/ sangs rgyas dngos kyi
 sprul par grags pa yang byung/ kha cig gis bod du skyes pa¹⁸⁰ zhig gis rgya
 gar mkhas pa rnams kyi bstan bcos las kyang mang ba de tsam rtsom pa ji 'dra
 ba zhig yin nam snyam du/ shab kyi yang khyed bla ma/ mar pa do ba/ 'u
 yug pa mda' ^{<T12>} ba bsam gtan/ mdo'i khyung po hūm snying/ se khrom
 rgya mtsho 'bar/ mtshams ston go cha/ spang kha dar chung/ 'gos lhas
 btsas/ rgya rgyal tshul sogs mkhas pa du mas sun 'byin nus sam snyam du
 khyu mchog rwa brdar ba ltar rje 'di nyid kyi drung du phyin pa na/ bdag
 nyid chen po smra ba'i seng ge rnam par bsgying ba 'di nyid kyis lung dang
 rigs pa dang/ sgra dang don gyi rnam bzhag dpyis phyin pa'i gsung gdong
 lnga'i sgra dbyangs thos pa tsam nas khengs pa'i ri bo bsnyil te zhabs pad gus
 pa'i gtsug gis len pa'i slob ma sha stag tu gyur ^{<S6b>} par grags/ go rub lo tsā ba
 dge slong chos kyi shes rab ces thos pa mang po'i gzungs thob par grags pa des
 kyang dang por kha btang byas/ bar du theg chen tshul 'jug mthong bas gus
 pa chen po skyes nas/ mthar zang zing mang pos bsnyen bkur bcas sngar gyi
 rang nyes brjod de bshags shing rjes su bzung bar gsol ba btab ste/ khro bo
 rnam par rgyal ba'i rtog pa 'jam dpal gsang ba'i rgyud sogs chos mang du gsan/
 gsang rgyud gsan skabs rong zom paṇḍi ta chen po'i zhal nas/ 'o skol la da lta
 rgya dpe yod na 'gyur 'di 'dra zhig thob pa yin tshul gsungs pa/ go rub lo tsā
 bas yid la bzung nas phyis jo bo kṛṣṇa zhes bya ba'i ^{<T13>} paṇḍi ta las rgya dpe
 byung ba gzigs shing de las mnyan pas rong zom chen pos ji skad gsungs pa
 bzhin byung bas shin tu gus pa thob cing rgya dpe rong zom pa'i phyag tu phul
 nas rgyud la 'gyur bcos mdzad cing slar yang bshad pa gsan skad lo rgyus 'di
 dag ngor chen gyi spyod rgyud rnam bzhag du yang gsungs/ tshul de dang
 cha mtshungs rong zom pa'i ngo mtshar lo rgyus du ma gsar ma'i lo tsā ba dag
 gi gsungs pa rnams na snang/ mar pa chos kyi dbang phyug sogs bod kyi lo
 tsā ba dang mkhas par grags pa'i blo ldan mtha' dag gis zhabs la btud cing
 mkhas pa'i rnam thar rtsod ^{<S7a>} med du yongs su grags/ deng sang yang 'di'i
 bstan bcos che phra gang yang rang la blo mig yod pa sus bltas kyang 'gran zla
 med pa'i yid ches skye ba la bsnyon du med/ de'i phyir bod gangs can na 'di
 dang mtshungs pa'i mkhas pa ni su yang ma byung zhes 'gos lo chen po sogs
 kyis bsngags shing yongs su grags pa'o//

¹⁸⁰T: ba

de ltar sus kyang 'gran du med pa'i smra ba'i dbang phyug chen po'i go 'phang
thob kyang bdag bstod dang khengs pa'i rnam pa cha tsam yang mi mnga' bar
dman sa 'dzin cing zhi dul gyi spyod lam skyong bslob dpon zhi ba lha'i ngang
tshul la gnas shing/ gzhan la gnod sems dang khyad gsod med par shin tu
byams shing bzod pa'i ^{<T14>} stobs dang ldan pa'i phyir bdag nyid chen po 'dis
chos lam la zhugs pa dag la chos kyi sbyin pa dang/ phal pa dag la zang zing
gi sbyin pa ser snas ma gos pa'i gtong ba¹⁸¹ lhug par mdzad cing gdul bya
mtha' dag snying rje chen pos yal bar mi 'dor ba'i¹⁸² brtson pa dang/ srung
sdom dang thugs dam nor bu rin po che dang srog gi dbang po ltar gces spras
mdzad cing gzhan yang de la 'god pa sogs dam pa'i rnam thar rtsol med ngang
gis gsal ba dang/ brag me long gi ngos lta bur mtho zhing yangs la gzar bar
bya ltar 'phur pa dang/ brag la phur pa btab pa/ ^{<S7b>} nam mkhar 'phur ba/
bod kyi lha 'dre rnam kyi gnas dang spyod pa mkhyen pa/ gdul bya'i rgyud
mkhyen pa sogs tha mal pa rnam kyi ya mtshan du byed cing grub pa'i rtags
su mngon pa tshad¹⁸³ med pa yod par de dus kyi skye bo rnam la yongs su
grags mod¹⁸⁴ kyi/ so so yang dag rig pa bzhi thob pa'i 'phags chen 'di lta bu
la de 'dra'i mngon rtags phra mo bgrang ba¹⁸⁵ tsam ya mtshan gyi gtam du mi
'gyur bas smros ma dgos so//

bdag nyid chen po 'di bod gangs can du gsang sngags kyi bstan pa dar zhing
rgyas pa'i ched du rten sngags pa rdo rje 'dzin pa chen po'i rnam par bzhugs
shing dgung lo brgya dang bcu dgur bzhugs te sku la snyun med par gshegs/
sras brgyud rnam phyi dus bar byon zhing ^{<T15>} phur pa'i grub pa thob pa sha
stag tu gyur/ slob brgyud ni go rub lo tsā ba/ mar pa do ba/ 'gos la sogs
pa'i lo tsā ba bcu bdun/ gyag rdo rje 'dzin pa sogs grub thob chen po sum cu
rtsa lnga/ ma cig zha ma'i ming po rje dgon phu ba sogs sgom chen rnal 'byor
dbang po brgya dang brgyad cu/ yol lcags dge bsnyen rdo rje dbang phyug
dang/ yang khyed bla ma sogs gdugs thogs¹⁸⁶ lnga brgyas mtshon pa'i slob
tshogs byung bar bshad/ khyad par gsang sngags snga 'gyur gyi chos bka'
padma 'byung gnas/ bi ma mi tra/ bai ro tsa¹⁸⁷ na sogs kyi ^{<S8a>} gdams pa

¹⁸¹ T: gtod pa

¹⁸² T: pa'i

¹⁸³ T: ched

¹⁸⁴ T: med

¹⁸⁵ T: pa

¹⁸⁶ T: thog

¹⁸⁷ S: tsā

thams cad rong zom chen po la 'dus shing bka' babs pas/ nyams len gyi gtso
bo snga 'gyur pa'i chos la mdzad/ ma gshin phur pa'i bsnyen sgrub mthar
phyin/ de'i mthus bod yul gyi sde brgyad kun kyang dbang du 'dus nas srog
snying phul/ bod kyi lha 'dre nmams kyi srog snying dang mthun rdzas sogs
kyi gdams pa sna tshogs mdzad/ sku tshe'i mjug la nyid kyi sras mo ye shes
mkha' 'gro ma mi yi bu mo'i tshul 'dzin pa legs sbyar gyi skad 'ba' zhig smra ba
de la rong zom pa nyid kyis legs sbyar kho na'i skad kyis chos mang po gsung/
bu mo de dgung lo bcu drug bzhes dus rdo khri rgyab yol mar rje nyid bzhugs
<T16> nas rgyud bshad gnang ba'i tshe/ bu mo de dngos su 'phur nas mkha'
spyod du song/ gsang mtshal thigs pa zhig chos khri'i mdun du lhung ba las
sman se ba'i sdong po me tog sna lnga 'char ba zhig mos pa'i rten du bzhag pa
de'i me tog lnga ka mthong ba'i mi rgan gnyis tsam snang yang da lta ni dkar
ser gnyis las gzhan mi snang zhes/ rong zom pa'i rtogs brjod yal 'dab bzhi pa
zhes pa dbus spar du 'khod pa las bshad/ mdor na rje 'di nyid nges par 'phags
chen gyi sa la bzhugs pa'i gang zag 'gran zla dang bral ba yin pas 'di'i¹⁸⁸ mkhas
pa dang grub pa'i rnam thar mtha' dag <S8b> phal pa'i blos dpag par mi nus mod
kyi/ thun mong gi ngor spobs pa'i gter chen po brgyad grol ba'i mkhas pa'i
rnam thar rtsod med yongs su grags pa'i cha shas 'di tsam zhig rje nyid kyi
dngos slob yol dge bsnyen rdo rje dbang phyug gis bris pa la brten nas 'gos lo
chen po'i deb sngon du bkod pa la gzhi byas/ bod snga rabs pa'i mkhas pa
dag gi gsung las khol bur byung ba re zung gis brgyan te cung zad brjod pa yin
la/ de ltar mkhas pa'i rgyal po paṇḍi ta chen po 'di'i gsung rab ngo mtshar can
mang du bzhugs pa phyis su dpe rgyun dkon par gyur na yang ci rigs mjal du
yod pa 'di ni rgyal sras gzhan phan pa'i thugs bskyed las byung ba yin la/ de
yang <T17> rgyal ba'i sras po gzhan phan mtha' yas 'od zer zhes pa mkhan chen
bo¹⁸⁹ dhi satwa dang/ lo chen bai ro tsa na'i thugs rje'i rnam 'phrul gcig tu
bsdus par dam pa'i lung gis zin pa 'di nyid sku chung ngu'i dus nas theg pa
chen po'i rigs sad cing/ gsar rnying yongs 'dzin du ma bsten nas gsan bsam
rgya mtsho'i mthar phyin/ gsang sngags lam gyi drod rtags mngon du gyur/
khyad par bod yul 'di'i dus skabs kyi rgud pa chen po sel ba'i gang zag khyad
par can yin te sku na chung ngu byis pa ri kha¹⁹⁰ la yan pa'i skabs zhig tu/

¹⁸⁸ S: 'da'

¹⁸⁹ T: po

¹⁹⁰ T: missing

bsam yas me 'jigs bzlog tshul gyi kha byang phyag tu 'byor kyang ^{<S9a>} btang
snyoms su lus pa/ phyis bsam yas la me'i 'jigs pa byung ba gsan nas thugs
'gyod chen po byas/ yang lha sar chus 'jigs bzlog pa'i lung byang yod pa
bzhin de don su la'ang ma gsung par sbas tshul gyis lha ldan du phebs te phyag
rdor dregs 'dul gyi sku mtshams sogs lung byang ltar ma yol bar bsgrub pas de
skabs lha sar chu gnod chen po byung yang bzlog par gyur pa sogs rgyal dbang
padma'i phrin las kyid byed po gter ston chen po'i skal ba can yin zhing/ snga
mar tshangs spyod rnam dag gos dkar lchang lo'i cha byad can du bzhugs shing/
nges med kyid gnas su sgrub ^{<T18>} pa'i rgyal mtshan 'dzugs pa'i dgongs pa mnga'
la/ rtsa rlung dang bskyed rdzogs la nus pa thon pa dang brtul zhugs chen po
dang ldan pa'i rnal 'byor dbang phyug gi sa gnon nges zhig yin na yang/ res
gcig sngar gyi jo 'brom yab sras kyid dgongs bzhed ltar/ rang rang so so'i
nyams len la gsang sngags las zab pa gang yang med cing/ gcig pur dben par
brten na grub 'bras re mngon du 'gyur mod kyid/ bstan 'gro spyi la mdo sngags
bshad sgrub zhig 'dzugs pas phan par dgongs zhing lha dang bla ma mkha'
'gro'i tshogs kyis bskul ba la brten nas/ rang don gal chung du bzhag bstan
don khur du bsname te/ bstan pa spyi'i 'jug srol gyi rim pa sngar chos ^{<S9b>}
rgyal chen pos bkas bcad pa ltar spyod pa mkhan po'i lugs dang/ lta ba klu
sgrub kyid lugs dang/ nyams len padma dang bi ma'i lugs ltar gsang sngags la
byas na snga 'gyur pa'i bstan pa rin po che 'di nyid dus kyid mthar yang cung
zhig dar rgyas su 'gyur snyam pa thugs la bzhag ste/ dbu reg zhabs rjen ngur
smrig 'chang pa'i brtul zhugs dang du bzhes nas 'dul ba'i gnang bkag la tshul
bzhin du bslab pas rang bzhin ngang gis nyes ltung phra mos kyang ma gos pa
'phags pa nye ba 'khor dang mtshungs par bsngags ^{<T19>} 'os pa/ gang zag sus
mjal kyang tha mal du 'dzin pa'i blo log ste 'di ni 'phags pa'i gnas brtan bcu
drug gi nang nas gcig yin snyam pa phal cher la byung zhes gleng/ gzhung
lugs nams kyid zab don la gzhan dring mi 'jog pa'i nam dpyod rlabs che ba
thob pas snga 'gyur ring lugs kyid lta grub zab mo'i khyad par 'dzin pa la rgol ba
gang gis kyang klags mi rnyed pa'i spobs pa rdo rje lta bu thob/ sa dge sogs
kyid dge bshes mkhas pa du ma dang 'bel ba'i gtam byas pa tsam nas rmad du
byung ba'i mkhas pa chen por nges pa rnyed de zhabs kyid padmo gus pas¹⁹¹
dang du len pa byung/ rtag tu bshad sgrub gyid bya ba la thugs gzhol shing

¹⁹¹ S: bas

dbus gtsang khams gsum kun tu rnying ma'i dpe rnying gi bsdu rtsol mdzad
cing/ 'dul ba ka ri ka nas dpal ldan gsang ba ^{<S10a>} snying po dang/ rdzogs
pa chen po'i bar gyi mdo rgyud bstan bcos kyi bshad grwa rgya che ba dang
de'i cha rkyen yig cha spar du 'god pa sogs kyi thugs khur bzhes/ rdo grub
dbang rin po ches lung bstan pa ltar ru dam rdzogs chen gyi gnas 'dir phebs pa
dang/ sangs rgyas dngos byon rdzogs sprul bzhi pa mi 'gyur nam mkha'i rdo
rjes kyang ye shes kyi gzigs pas dam pa 'di'i yon tan gyi che ba bsngags shing
gnas 'dir bzhugs dgos pa dang bshad sgrub kyi srol ka ^{<T20>} btod pa'i bka' lung
gnang ba ltar/ mdo sngags bstan bcos kyi gzhung bshad ci rigs dang/ bka'
'gyur rin po che'i ljags lung/ 'dul ba gzhi gsum gyi phyag bzhes/ bka' ma'i
sgrub chog rnams spar du bkod pa sogs kyi phrin las bskyang bas rnying bstan
gyi gsos chen por gyur cing/ deng sang phyogs gang na'ang byams chos dang
'bum sogs gzhung lugs rnams sbyang brtson gyi srol ci rigs tshugs pa dang/
'dul ba gzhi gsum gyi phyag bzhes kyang rnying phyogs rnams dang/ mdo
khams 'di'i grub mtha' gzhan pa'i dgon sde sngar dbyar gnas sogs med pa rnams
su yang ngang gis khyab cing/ bka' 'gyur ro cog gi lung rgyun kyang je bas je
'phel du sa steng khyab par byung ba dam pa mchog 'di'i thugs bskyed dang
smon lam gyi ^{<S10b>} mthu kho nas byung la/ mkhas btsun bzang po'i yon tan
phul tu byung zhing/ snga 'gyur ba'i ring lugs bshad sgrub kyi srol rmang nas
gso ba'i¹⁹² thugs bskyed rlabs po che dang ldan pa 'di sku tshe mthar phyin par
bzhugs na bstan pa'i mnga' thang dbyar mtsho ltar rgyas par gor ma chag
kyang/ de lta bu 'gro ba'i bsod nams kyis mi thub pa dang/ rje nyid rten
sngags pa mdzad na sku tshe mthar phyin dang gsang sngags kyi phrin las la
phan pa 'ong bar gzigs nas dam pa 'gas bskul kyang ^{<T21>} ma gsan par/ kho bo
ston pa mchog de'i brtul zhugs kyi rjes su slob pa'i rten 'di las ma 'gyur par¹⁹³
shi na rang don du 'gyod pa gang yang med la/ gzhan don du ni phyogs gang
nas kyang bstan pa'i bya ba 'di'i 'phro mthud de brtson pa mi lhod pa smon lam
gyi dbang gis 'ong zhes gsungs shing/ sku 'da' ba'i nub mo kho nar de bzhin
gshegs pa la gnang ba zhus te sku chings dkrol nas dran bzhin shes bzhin du
gzim pa las dus rgyun sku chings mi grol zhing nyal snyes 'phres pa sogs kyi
spyod lam dang 'dul ba dang mi mthun pa'i nyes byas phra mo tsam gyi kun

¹⁹² T: pa'i

¹⁹³ S: bar

spyod kyang mi mnga' ba yin zhes/ sngar kha byang bab tshul dang/ gsung
'phros 'di dag rje nyid kyi sku tshe smad kyi zhabs zhur rtag tu sdod pa dge ba'i
bshes gnyen padma bzang ^{<S11a>} po la nang 'phros su gnang ba tsam las gzhan
yongs grags su ma gyur kyang/ bla ma de las bdag gis dngos su thos pa ltar
'dir sgro 'dogs rdul tsam dang ma 'dres par bris pa yin no//

bdag nyid chen po de'i dngos slob kyang dpal sprul rin po che 'jigs med chos
kyi dbang po dang/ mkhan chen padma badzra sogs bdag nyid chen po du ma
dang/ bslab pa gsum gser ltar dag pa'i mang thos dge ba'i bshes gnyen shin tu
mang por phyung ba 'phros don du smros ^{<T22>} nas/ skabs kyi brjod bya sku
zhabs gzhan phan pa de nyid kyi/ gangs can 'di na 'gran zla dang bral ba
rong zom paṇḍi ta'i gsung rab rnams dbus gtsang gi phyogs kun tu 'bad pa sna
tshogs kyi btsal nas rnyed pa pod¹⁹⁴ gnyis su long pa 'di dag spar du bkod par
mdzad pa'i tshe/ gsang snying 'grel pa ni rje de'i dngos slob sdom brtson sde
snod 'dzin pa chen po gling sprul pa'i skus ram 'deg su bsgrub cing de min
'phros rnams rgyal sras gzhan phan pa nyid kyi bskrun par mdzad mod/
snyigs dus bstan 'gro spyi sger bsod nams dman pa'i stabs kyi rgyal sras gzhan
phan pa nyid sku gshegs nas mdzad pa 'phro can du lus pa'i spar shing rnams
phal cher kha byang ma bsgrigs¹⁹⁵ pa dang/ nag thum bcad ^{<S11b>} pa dang zhu
bcos sogs ma grub par de gar lus pa la/ slad nas sku zhabs gzhan phan pa
mchog gi sprul pa'i sku gzhan phan chos kyi snang ba nyid kyi sku na chung
ba'i dus nas spar shing zhu bcos sogs bgyid 'dun mdzad kyang/ stabs ka'i
dbang gis phral du ma grub la/ phyis su ni khong nyid lo mang por bcad rgya
dam pos bsnyen sgrub la gzhol ba'i skabs kyi re shig de gar lus pa la/ kho bo
mi pham ming can pas kyang snga nas bstan bcos chen po 'di dag gi sngar gyi
zhu dag re ^{<T23>} bsgrub 'dun yod pa dang/ gzhan 'ga' zung gis bskul mod kyi/
nad kyi mi lcogs pa'i ngang du ci bya med par gyur kyang/ rab byung bco
lga pa'i shing 'brug lo'i dbyar phyogs kyi tshe/ mchog gsum gyi thugs rje
dang dam pa gong ma rnams kyi legs smon gyi mthus sku zhabs sprul pa'i sku
dang gleng 'phros byung 'phral khong gis kyang legs so'i gsung dang dgyes pa'i
gnang skyes bcas ring mo nas brnag pa 'di bzhin khyod kyi sgrub na legs tshul
dang/ spar gyi ma phyi'i dpe rnams kyang sku zhabs gong ma'i phyag dpe'i

¹⁹⁴ T: bod

¹⁹⁵ S: 'grigs

khrod du nyul bas rnyed nas gnang ba bzhin/ kho bos kyang dpe bsdur dang
tshig don la rtog zhib bcug pas ma dpe yang cung dag pa zhig tu 'dug pas/
tshig 'bru phran bu nyams pa dang/ <S12a> skabs rer chad pa cung zad byung
snyam pa dang/ gzhung mchan¹⁹⁶ 'dzud mtshams bsnol ba dang/ sngags
rnams rgyud so so'i dpe dang zhib bsdur ma grub pas ring cha sogs nor ba
phran bu las/ ha cang mi go ba'i yig skyon chen po rang mi snang tsam gyi
zhus dag bgyis te phyin chad spar btab lo pa nyid du grub pa 'di yang bstan pa'i
zhabs tog tu cung zad 'gyur bar sems shing/ deng sang dus dbang gis mi
rnams shes rab zhan pa'i stabs kyis/ snga 'gyur gyi bka' dang dgongs 'grel
<T24> zab mo rnams dang/ gter rnying zol med bcas kyis gzhung gser zhun ma
lta bu rgya cher yod bzhin du de rnams gal chung du bzhag nas/ mkhas grub
kyi rnam thar yid ches su rung ba¹⁹⁷ mi snang yang/ grong sngags pa phal
mo che gter ston du byas te rdol chos po ti kha grangs mang po/ tshig don
zab mo dang man ngag gi gnad ngo mtshar ba ma dmigs la/ sgrub pa'i mngon
rtags kyang 'di yin med pa'i 'don cha nyab nyob dag la/ de'i rigs brgyud pa
dag gis rang gi pha jo'i chos zhes dang/ gzhan dag gis kyang de la dus bab
kyi zab chos zhes mos pa sogs kyis/ sngar gyi chos rnying rnams kyis 'gro don
sgrib pa mang zhing gter ma yang dag dang ltar snang dpyad par dka' <S12b> ba
dar pa'i dus na 'di 'dra'i legs bshad chen po rnams mkho mkhan nyung mod/
gzhung 'di dag gi tshig bzhi pa gcig gi don tsam khong du chud na'ang don
chen po mtshungs pa med pa'i phyir/ 'di 'dra'i zab gnad can gyi bstan bcas
rnams sku zhabs gong mas btsal zhing spar du bkod pa ni bdag cag rjes 'jug
rnams la thugs brtse ba'i bka' drin zla med pa yin par shes nas lta rtog¹⁹⁸ ci nus
dgos par mngon la/ snga 'gyur pa'i ring lugs 'dzin pa la mkhas grub du ma
byon mod kyis/ kun gyi nang na khyad par 'phags pa kun mkhyen rong klong
rnam <T25> gnyis zhes nyi zla ltar grags pa yin zhing/ bod snga rabs pa phal
mo ches/ sangs rgyas la ye shes mi 'dod pa ni rgya gar na slob dpon zla grags
dang/ bod na rong zom chos kyis bzang po'i zhes rong zom pa'i gsung 'ol spyi
tsam la brten nas slob dpon 'dis sangs rgyas la ye shes gtan mi bzhed par bshad
pa ni bdag nyid chen po 'di'i dgongs pa'i gting ma rnyed pa ste/ gang gi phyir
na spyir 'phags yul na sangs rgyas kyis sa la ye shes yod par bzhed pa ni phal

¹⁹⁶ T: mtshan

¹⁹⁷ T: pa

¹⁹⁸ T: rtogs

mo che zhig dang/ mi bzhed pa slob dpon dbu ma'i seng ge sogs kyis rigs pa
dang/ jo bo chen pos lung gi sgo nas bsgrub pa ^{<S13a>} lta bu yod mod kyis de
dag so sor dgongs pa'i gnad re yod la/ rong zom pas rnam par mi rtog pa'i ye
shes kyis mthar thug par rigs pas dgag pa brjod pa 'di dag ni gzhan byung gi ye
shes dgag pa kho na yin te/ gzhan byung gi ye shes ni rgyu las skyes pa'i 'dus
byas kyis dngos po gang zhig slob¹⁹⁹ pa nas mi slob pa'i bar du rgyun ma chad
pa'i gang zag gi rgyud nyi tse bas bsdus pa theg pa thun mongs pa'i 'dod pa de
la sun 'byin gyi rigs pa yang dag lan gyis bzlog par mi nus pa bstan pa 'dis/
sangs rgyas kyis ye shes ni rang byung 'dus ma byas pa gzhir gnas kyis ye shes
^{<T26>} de nyid dag pa mthar thug ^{<tu>}²⁰⁰ gyur pa'i dbyings sgrib bral de la bzhed
pas/ de ltar na gang zag gi rgyud kyis bsdus pa'i ye shes 'dus byas can ci yang
mi mnga' bar bzhed mod kyis slob dpon 'dis/ rang byung gi ye shes dang/
gdod nas 'od gsal ba'i chos kyis dbyings dang/ byang chub kyis sems kun tu
bzang po rnams ming tha dad kyang ngo bo tha mi dad pa chos nyid kyis ngo
bos gzhi la ye nas yod pa rdzogs pa chen po'i gzhung 'dzugs pa yin pas na/ ye
shes 'dus ma byas pa de la gzhi lam 'bras bu'i skabs thams cad du 'pho 'gyur
med pa'i phyir/ slob lam du ^{<S13b>} yod la mi slob pa'i tshe med pa'i tha snyad
ji ltar bya ste des na ye shes gtan med du bzhed pa ma yin no//

rje rong zom nyid kyis gsungs sangs rgyas kyis sa chen mo las/
gzhan yang bag chags kyis mtshams sbyor ba ma lus ^{<par>}²⁰¹ yongs su zad pas/
chos kyis dbyings ma lus pa yongs su dag par gyur pa'i dbang las kyang 'byung
ste/ rdzas dang zhing dag pa'i dbang las gzugs brnyan 'byung ba lta bu'o//
zhes dang/
tshogs bsags shing smon lam btab pa dang/ chos dbyings glo bur gyi dri ma
mtha' dag gis dag pa 'di gnyis ni bdag po'i rkyen yin no// zhes dang/
sangs rgyas kyis sa ni shin tu rnam par dag pa'i ^{<T27>} dbyings 'ba' zhig go zhes
dang/
chos kyis dbyings rnam par dag pa'i dbang las kyang gzhan la snang ba'i rkyen
du 'gyur bas/ phyogs gcig la rmongs pa'ang ma yin te// spros pa dang bral

¹⁹⁹ T: spob

²⁰⁰ T & S: du

²⁰¹ T & S: pa

ba'i nram par dag par gyur pa nyid ma lus par mkhyen pa nyid yin no zhes dang/

thams cad kyang chos dbyings nram par dag pa dang/ smon lam gyi dbang ngo// yang na de dag gi steng du ye shes chen po'i dbang las kyang gzugs kyi sku me long gi gzugs brnyan bzhin du snang bar gsungs pa dang/

'on kyang bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i chos yin pas/ ye shes nram pa gnyis po sangs rgyas kyi thugs rgyud la mngon par 'dod pa'i gzhung ^{<S14a>} 'di la nges par skur ba yang mi bya ste/ sngon gyi slob dpon gsang ba dang/ nyi ma'i 'od 'phro la sogs pas 'di ltar bzhed// ces dang/ shin tu 'gal ba che ba ye shes kyi rgyud tshor ba can dang/ skyes pa'i gzugs can dang/ gzhan yang bud med la longs mi spyod do zhes dang/

bud med la longs spyod pa'i bde ba yod pa sogs gdul bya la snang ba tsam min par sangs rgyas la rang rgyud par mnga' na nges par sun phyung dgos par gsungs pa dang/

sangs rgyas kyi ye shes bsam gyis mi khyab pa yin pa'i phyir/ 'di dag spong ^{<T28>} ba'i gzu bo mi byed kyi zhes dang/

rang rgyud pa'i ye shes dngos dang mtshan ma can du 'dod pa rnam la brgal ba rnam bstan nas/ rigs pas gzhal na ches che ba nyid du gyur pa 'di la nga rgyal gyis brtsad pa'i don ma mthong ngo//

zhes gsungs pa 'di rnam kyis shes te/ gang gi phyir na rong zom pa chen pos chos kyi dbyings spros pa las 'das par dngos su bzhed par gsal gyi/ med dgag stong rkyang phyang chad du nam yang ma gsungs pas gnad 'di la thug ste/ mkhas pa'i dbang phyug 'di'i gsung thams cad bden gnyis dbyer med pa'i gnas lugs 'ba' zhig sgrub pa'i don du rigs pa'i nam grangs sna tshogs gsal bar bkod pa bsnyon du med pa 'dis grub bo//

dbyings zung 'jug ma yin par med pa phyogs gcig du bzhed na/ gzhi dus na yang snang ba sna tshogs 'byung ba mi 'thad la/ lam gtan la 'beb dus su/ spros pa dang bral ba yang mi srid de/ med pa'i spros pa dang ma bral bar 'gyur la/ 'bras dus su med dgag 'ba' zhig gi ngang du blo rgyun chad na/ chos kyi dbyings dag pa gnyis ldan ma lus par mkhyen pa dang thugs rje 'byung ba'i rgyu yang ci zhig yod de ri bong ra med bzhin no//

des na chos dbyings spros bral gyi don ma shes par med dgag tsam ^{<T29>} la chos dbyings su bzung ba dag gis rong zom pa'i lugs 'dis sangs rgyas kyi sa na ye

shes gtan nas bkag go snyam du rang blo'i dri ma bdag nyid chen po'i lugs dri
ma med pa la bgo bar zad do//

mdor na gzhi rig stong zung du 'jug pa'i byang chub kyi sems chos kyi dbyings
'di ni 'pho 'gyur dang bral ba yin la/ dag pa gnyis ldan gyi chos dbyings 'gog
bden mthar thug mngon du mdzad pa'i skabs na ji lta ba 'ba' zhig mkhyen pa'i
ye shes chos kyi dbyings las tha dad par yul can gyi tshul du yod pa dang/
spros pa sna tshogs pa gzigs pa'i yul can gyi ye shes rang rgyud pa mnga' ba
mthar thug dpyod pa'i rigs pas mi 'grub ste/ klu sgrub kyis/

brjod par bya ba ldog pa ste//
sems kyi spyod yul ldog pas so//
ma skyes ba dang mi 'gag ^{<S15a>} pa//
chos nyid mya ngan 'das dang mtshungs//

zhes gsungs pa ltar/ da lta gzhi sems can gyi dus na yang/ yul dang yul can
la sogs pa gnyis su snang yang de ltar grub pa med par chos kyi dbyings 'ba'
zhig gi rang bzhin du gnas par gtan la phebs dgos na/ glo bur gyi bag chags
kyi bsalad pa mtha' dag zad pa'i sangs rgyas kyi sa na lta ci smos/ des na chos
kyi dbyings nyid gzhi ji bzhin pa mngon du gyur pa las/²⁰² ^{<T30>} gzhan pa'i
rten can rang rgyud pa'i ye shes gang yang med ces bsgrub pa yin te/ des na
chos kyi dbyings rnam par dag pa de nyid ye shes thams cad kyi dngos gzhi
yin te/ sangs rgyas rnams de las ma g.yos pa'i cha nas ji lta ba mkhyen pa
dang/ ma g.yos bzhin du chos kyi dbyings kyis bsdus pa'i shes bya thams cad
rnam rtog med bzhin 'bad med lhun grub tu mkhyen pa ni ji snyed pa mkhyen
pa yin te de'i phyir stobs bcu dang ldan pa'i mkhyen pa'i ye shes zhes sam//
rnam pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye shes zhes mdo rgyud thams cad las gsungs
pa yin gyi/ chos dbyings rnam dag mngon du gyur pa las lhag pa'i ye shes
rang rgyud pa gang yang mi dgos so// de'i phyir nang dbyings ka dag chen
po'i sbubs su gzung 'dzin gyi dri ma bag chags dang bcas pa'i ^{<S15b>} sgrib pa
gtan med²⁰³ du song ba'i mnyam bzhag snang med kyi dbang du byas te/
rdzogs chen gyi gzhung rnams su yang sku dang ye shes sogs gnyis chos thams

²⁰² T: double *shad*

²⁰³ T: mod

cad med par bshad pa de'i dbang du byas te bla ma rong bas kyang mthar thug
gi sa la spros pa med tshul rigs pas bsgrub pa rtsal du bton pa yin zhes rgyal
dbang klong chen rab 'byams kyis gsungs/ bod ston phal mo ches sangs rgyas
la gnyis su med pa'i ye shes rnam dag 'ba' zhig mnga' ba'i/ ma dag pa'i sems
can gzigs pa sogs ji ^{<T31>} snyed pa'i ye shes sangs rgyas rang snang la mi mnga'
bar bzhed mod kyir/ rong zom pa chen pos ni chos dbyings rnam dag 'ba' zhig
ma gtogs pa'i ji lta ba'am mi rtog pa'i ye shes kyang ji ltar khyed cag gis dag pa
'jig rten pa'i ye shes mi mnga' bar bzhed pa de dang 'dra bar mgo mnyam par
bsgrub pa 'dris/ sangs rgyas kyis sa na ji lta ji snyed kyis ye shes gnyis po yod
na yod mnyam med na med mnyam du grub pa'i phyir/ sangs rgyas kyis sa ni
chos dbyings rnam par dag pa tsam du grub kyang chos dbyings de nyid la
ldog pas phye na ji lta ji snyed mkhyen pa gnyis ka yang bsgrub rung ste/
chos thams cad chos kyis dbyings las gzhan du gyur pa rdul tsam med pa'i phyir
ro//

de'i phyir rgyal dbang padma ^{<S16a>} sam bha ba'i gsang sngags lam rim du/
rten bcas rten med ngo bo nyid don byed// ces mthar thug sangs rgyas kyis sa
na/ gzhan don 'byung ba la rten ye shes rang rgyud pa 'dod pa sems tsam pa
sogs dang/ de 'dra'i rten med kyang smon lam gi dbang gis gzhan don 'byung
ba dbu ma pa rnams dang/ de gnyis ka'i mthar ma lhung ba bsam gyis mi
khyab pa'i chos nyid rnam par dag pa'i byin rlabs rtsol ba med pa ngo bo nyid
kyis gzhan don byed pa rdzogs pa chen po sogs sngags rgyud rnams kyis
dgongs pa ste/ gsang ^{<T32>} snying las/ thugs rje chen pos 'brel bas na/ 'gro
drug kun gnas ma lus snang/ zhes dang/ rdzogs chen gyi rgyud rnams su
thugs rje kun khyab kyis ye shes zhes gsungs pa ltar/ rong zom pa chen pos
rten med kyang smon lam gyi dbang gis ji ltar 'phangs pa ltar/ zhing dag pa
dang ma dag pa/ sku tshad sku mdog la sogs pa sna tshogs su snang yang/
rang rgyud kyis bsdus pa'i rten rang mtshan pa med par bsgrub kyang chos
dbyings rnam dag ngo bo nyid skus byin <rlabs>²⁰⁴ kyis don byed par bsgrub
pas mthar ngo bo nyid kyis don byed pa sngags rgyud rnams kyis dgongs par la
bzla ba yin no//

²⁰⁴ T & S: rlab

ha cang spros pas chog kyang mdo tsam bstan pa yin la/ 'di tsam zhig mi
 brjod ka med ^{<S16b>} yin te/ chos dbyings zhes pa stong²⁰⁵ rkyang tsam la 'dzin
 pa mthar thug gi don la phyogs su ma phyin pa dag gis bdag nyid chen po 'di'i
 gsung zab cing brling ba thos na shin tu skrag cing mi mos pa'i dogs pa sel ba'i
 phyir yin te gal te nges par sangs rgyas la mkhyen pa gnyis po med nges su go
 na/ rnam pa thams cad mkhyen pa ni ri bong gi rwa'i rjes su song nas 'bras
 bu'i mchog la bskur pa 'debs pa dang/ rnam mkhyen med na gdul bya rnams
 la lam ma nor ba ston pa'i sangs rgyas med cing/ de med na chos dang dge
 'dun yang yod par dka' ^{<T33>} ba'i phyir theg pa chen po'i lam dang 'bras bu las
 phyir phyogs par 'gyur ro/

des na bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i chos kyi dbyings spros pa bral ba'i don gtan la
 pheb na de dag gis de bzhin gshegs pa'i chos nyid ye shes kyi sku shes rab kyi
 dbang pos mngon du byas pa yin te/ mgon po klus/

de bzhin gshegs pa spros 'das shing//

zad pa med la spros byed pa//

spros pas nyams pa de kun gyis//

de bzhin gshegs pa mi mthong ngo//

zhes dang/ mdo las/ gang dag nga la gzugs su mthong sogs kyi lung don
 ltar de bzhin gshegs pa'i rang bzhin gtan la 'beb pa la rong zom pa chen po'i
 gsung dang mtshungs pa gzhan med pa yin no//

des na kun mkhyen rong ^{<S17a>} klong rnam gnyis ni theg pa'i rgyal po rdzogs pa
 chen po'i rgyud kyi dgongs pa bzhin du mthar thug dgongs pa dbyer med yin
 pa shes par bya'o//

de ltar 'phros don gal che ba cung zad brjod nas/ gzhung gi bzhugs byang
 dkar chag²⁰⁶ dngos la/

dang por glebs bam "a" pa la/

[1] dpal gsang ba snying po'i ũ ka dkon mchog 'grel du grags pa ldeb nyis
 brgya bzhi bcu bzhugs/

²⁰⁵ T: stod

²⁰⁶ T: chags

spar shing rnams kha byang bsgrig cing lhan cig yod na legs kyang 'di skabs
 gsang 'grel logs su yod ^{<T34>} pas dpe bdag pa'i stabs kas lhan cig ma bzhag la
 zhus dag kyang zhib cha ma <grub kyang>²⁰⁷ 'di la sngar nas ma dpe spar ma
 sogs yod pas dpe cung dag 'ong ngam snyam/ 'on kyang spar btab mi rnams
 kyis pod gnyis kha tshang bar byas na legs/

rgyud kyi khog dbub 'bring po'ang gsang 'grel dang lhan du spar 'khod 'dug
 kyang/ kha byang bsgrig skabs ma mthong pas dkar chag tu ma theb kyang/
 rgyud 'grel gyi klad²⁰⁸ du bzhugs par byos shig/

[2] rgyud kyi khog dbub chung ngu²⁰⁹ ldeb cig/

[3] 'jam dpal mtshan brjod kyi spyi 'grel ldeb so lnga/

[4] man ngag lta phreng gi rtsa ba slob dpon padmas mdzad pa ldeb brgyad/

[5] de'i 'grel pa rong zom pa chen pos mdzad pa ldeb nga lnga/

'di sngar gyi yig rnying ltar spar 'khod pas 'a mtha' dang da drag ma ^{<S17b>} bsdus
 pa gi gu phyir log sogs su bris pa nyams mtshar du ma bcos pa de gar bzhag/

[6] sngags don rdo rje rab 'byed kyi 'jam dpal khro bo gshin rje gshed kyi dkyil
 chog slob dpon sgeg pa'i rdo rjes mdzad pa/ rong zom 'gyur ldeb bcu bzhi/

[7] rdor sems sgyu drwa'i lugs kyi las bzhi'i sā tstsha gdab chog rong zom pas
 mdzad pa ldeb bcu drug/

[8] rdo rje gtsug tor dang tshe dpag med lha rgyud kyi sgo nas mchod rten
 gdab pa rong zom gsung ldeb brgyad/

[9] rong lugs gdung ^{<T35>} bsreg gi tho yig ldeb gnyis/

[10] che mchog gi sgom khog ldeb bzhi/

[11] zhi ba 'bring po dang snang ba dam pa rgyan gyi sngags rgya dpe la gtugs
 nas dag par byas pa ldeb dgu bcas

snga dum la ldeb grangs sum brgya dang dgu bcu go gnyis bzhugs/

pod gnyis pa "ā" pa la/

[1] theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa'i bstan bcos dpal rong zom paṇḍi ta chen
 pos mdzad pa ldeb brgya dang zhe brgyad/

de bzhin du

[2] gsang sngags kyi tshul gyi snang ba lhar bsgrub chen mo ldeb bcu gnyis/

²⁰⁷ T & S: gru yang

²⁰⁸ S: klang

²⁰⁹ S: du

[3] lta ba'i brjed byang chen mo ldeb nyer bzhi dang/

de 'phros

[4] gsung thor bu sna tshogs phyogs bsdus bcas khyon ldeb brgya dang so drug

la ldeb nyer bzhi pa gong 'og gnyis yod/

gsung thor bu ba la nang gses su/

[a] grub mtha' so so'i bden gnyis kyi 'jog tshul/ <S18a>

[b] rgyu 'bras kyi theg pa'i bye brag chen mo/

[c] mchod pa/

[d] bsgral pa/

[e] gsang sngags lam gyi mtshan nyid/

[f] mdo sngags kyi grub mtha' mthun mi mthun mdor bsdus kyi bsdud byang/

[g] sbrul nag po'i stong thun/

[h] sangs rgyas kyi sa chen po zhes grags pa/

[i] rgyud spyi'i dngos po gsal bar byed pa'i yi ge/

[j] dbang gi rab byed/

[k] dam tshig nyer brgyad kyi gnang bkag gi yi ge/

[l] gsang sngags kyi bzlas brjed bya thabs kyi yan lag/

[m] rang byung <T36> ye shes chen po 'bras bu rol pa'i dkyil 'khor du lta ba'i yi
ge rnams su yod do//

[5] rab gnas rtsa ba zhes pa ldeb gnyis/

[6] rab gnas bshad sbyar ldeb so lnga/

[7] rab gnas chos ga ldeb nyer drug bcas

sngar spar du bkod zin dang/ de steng

[8] grub mtha'i brjed byang yig rnying 'a mtha' da drag sogs ma bsdus pa zhig

'dug pa deng sang gi brda dag ltar bcas nas/ yig skyon rnams bsal bar byas pa

gsar du sku zhabs sprul pa'i skus spar du bsgrubs pa ldeb sum bcu tham pa bcas

khyon phyi dum 'dir ldeb grangs sum brgya dang dgu bcu bcas bzhugs so//

da dung yang mkhas pa'i dbang phyug chen po 'di'i gsung che phra ci rigs gang

zag blo ldan dag gis btsal na dbus gtsang sogs su/ sngar gyi yig rnying rnams

kyi khrod du rnyed par srid la rnyed na go rim nges pa med par 'di'i 'phro

mthud de <S18b> dbyangs bcu drug gi rim pas pod grangs su bsgrig par bya ba'i

rten 'brel 'phro can du byas pa yin no//

theg tshul la yig rnying gi brda ltar bris pa ches mang yang ci rigs bklag bde
ba'i phyir bcos par byas/ da dung yang gsung rnams rnyed srid na brda dag
skad gsar bcad deng sang gi lugs ltar bcos na bklag bde bar snang/ gzhan yi
ge'i brda dag re zung dag yig ltar bcos rgyu 'dug kyang don gyi go ba la mi
gnod pa rnams rang ^{<T37>} sar bzhag/ tshig phrad re zung²¹⁰ tsam re bsnan na
go bde bar phan yang ma dpe sor bzhag ltar ma bcos par bzhag go//

rong zom pa chen po'i gsung 'di rtsom gshis rgya gzhung dang 'dra zhing/
don rgya gzhung chen po rnams ma gtogs phal gyis do zla med par grub pas
gsung re zung bstan 'gyur gyi khrod du yang mdzad byang ma phog par bzhugs
pa 'dra snyam/ 'di'i gsung che phra gang yang rigs pa'i rlabs dang tshig gi nus
pa mchog tu gyur pas don go rgyu bzhan dang mi 'dra ba yin pa de'i phyir gces
spras bya ba dang/ nan tan gyis blta zhing dpyad pa gces so zhes blo ldan kun
la gsol ba 'debs te ci yi phyir na/ rgyal tshab ma pham pa'i zhal nas/

chos bzang rigs pas nam dpyad bsam pa can//
rtag tu bdud kyi bar chad byed pa med//
khyad par rnyed dang gzhan gyi phyogs sun 'byin//²¹¹
mi 'phrog ^{<S19a>} yongs su smin pa'i mtshan nyid do//

zhes gsungs pa ltar 'gyur ba'i phyir ro//

slar yang smras pa/

dam pa rnams kyi gzhan phan thugs bskyed dang//
mkhas pa rnams kyis legs par bshad pa'i gzhung//
bstan 'gro'i phan bde spel ba'i gsos mchog ste//
tshul 'dir mos par mi 'gyur blo ldan su//

me khyer mar me rgyu skar zla nyi bzhin//
blo yi nus pas mkhas rnams khyad ^{<T38>} 'byed kyang//
mkhas pa'i nang na mkhas pa phul byung du//

²¹⁰ T: zur

²¹¹ T: no *shad*

grags pa'i gdugs dkar mngon mtho rong zom pa'i//

rigs pa'i ral gris pha rol rgol ba'i dpung//

gzhom pa'i gsung rab seng ge'i sgra chen po//

'di dang mtshungs pa gzhan na ma dmigs zhes//

blo gros mig ldan kun gyis mtshungs par bsngags//

da dung du yang ma 'ongs blo ldan rnams//

'di yi gsung rab rigs pa'i dpal rnon po'i//

lce bdun gar gyis 'khyug pa legs ltos dang//

de nas ngo mtshar chos kyi ltad mo mthong//

dnogs zhen drwa ba ma lus yongs gcod pas//

dman pa'i yid can 'jigs pa bskyed pa'i dbyings//

spros med mnyam pa nying kyi chos tshul nyid//

chos kyi bzang pos rigs pa'i lam nas bstan//

de phyir legs bshad rin thang med pa'i gter//

du mar 'phrul pa'i chos sbyin 'dir 'brel ba'i//

legs byas nyi zla'i 'od zer rab ^{<S19b>} 'bar bas//

sa gsum snying gi mun pa 'joms gyur cig//

thub bstan padma'i dga' tshal rab rgyas shing//

skye dgu'i bde skyid 'bras bzang g.yur du za//

theg mchog bdud rtsi'i 'gro kun legs tshim nas//

rnam grol mchog gi go 'phang 'thob par shog//

ces dkar chag mdor bsdus 'di nyid ru dam yang dben du mi pham pas shing

'brug lo'i khrum stod zla ^{<T39>} ba'i tshes lnga la rdzogs par bkod pa mangga

lam// /

gzhan phan mtha' yas mchog gi sprul pa'i sku//

gzhan phan chos kyi snang ba zhes bya bas//

gzhan phan slad du spar 'di bsgrubs pa'i dges//

gzhan phan phrin las sa steng khyab gyur cig//

ces pa'ang mi pham pas so// mangga lam// //

II. AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

Garland of Flowers

A Catalogue of Rong-zom's Collected Writings

Verses of Invocation

Oṃ svasti vijayantu

I pay homage to the assembly of [my] direct and lineage gurus,
To the Sun-Kinsman²¹²—the incomparable teacher of men and gods—,
To the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and the Great Regent [Maitreya],
To the [Six] Ornaments and the [Two] Excellences²¹³ of Jambudvīpa²¹⁴ and
to the scholars and accomplished masters of India and Tibet.

²¹² "Sun-kinsman" (*nyi ma'i ngyen*; Skt. *ādityabandhu*; Pāli *ādiccabandhu*) is an epithet of the Buddha Śākyamuni derived from a legend concerning his ancestry from the "Solar Race" of Indian kings. The epithet is attested already in various Pāli literature. The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary gives, for example, the following references: Vin II. 296, S I. 186 and 192, A II. 54, and Sn 54, 915 and 1128.

²¹³ The "Six Ornaments and Two Excellences" are eight great Indian Buddhist masters; according to the *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, the Six Ornaments are: Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva—the "ornaments" of Madhyamaka, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu—the "ornaments" of Abhidharma, and Dignāga and Dharmakīrti—the "ornaments of Pramāṇa. The Two Excellences are Śākyaprabha and Guṇaprabha—the two experts in Vinaya. The term "Two Excellences" by itself is explained as 1) a part of the term "the Six Ornaments and the Two Excellences" referring to Śākyaprabha and Guṇaprabha as given above or as 2) a separate term which refers to Nāgārjuna—the founder of the profound view which emphasizes the wisdom aspect and to Asaṅga—the founder of the teachings of the "extensive conduct" which emphasizes

May Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po,
 The crown ornament of all scholars of the Land of Snow
 Who possesses the sunrays [of] the Two Knowledges,²¹⁵ the display
 Of the primordial gnosis of Mañjuśrī's Illusionary Net, be victorious!

Having paid homage to the feet of the glorious Guru,
 The heroic **Son of the Victorious One**,²¹⁶ the protector of the Doctrine
 and the living beings in [this] degenerate age,²¹⁷
 The one illuminating all directions through a net of **light rays**
 Of **endless** spiritual activities, [motivated by] the aspiration of **benefitting**
others,²¹⁸

I will compose a short, clear catalogue,
 Along with the history connected to these excellent writings,
 In order to make indelibly visible the picture
 Of those noble ones' virtuous legacy.

the method aspect. Rigzin indicates Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga as the "Two Excellences" as a part of the term "the Six Ornaments and the Two Excellences".

²¹⁴ According to Buddhist cosmology, Jambudvīpa is one of the four continents, being located to the south of Mount Meru (*ri-rab*) and having a trapezoidal shape and a yellow or golden colour. According to one traditional etymology, it is so called because there is a species of rose apple tree called in Sanskrit "Jambu" which grows plentifully in this continent. For a detailed description of this and the other continents, see Kongtrul's *Myriad Worlds*, pp. 111-113.

²¹⁵ The Two Knowledges (*mkhyen gnyis*) are *ji lta ba mkhyen pa*—the knowledge of the actual reality (*chos nyid*), or rather, of the way of abiding (*gnas lugs*)—and *ji snyed pa mkhyen pa*—the knowledge of all existing phenomena. These two knowledges represent two "types" of primordial gnosis, *ji lta ba mkhyen pa'i ye shes* and *ji snyed pa mkhyen pa'i ye shes*. See also the introduction, note 139.

²¹⁶ I was told by the assistant teacher Dorji Wangchuk of Ngagyur Nyingma Institute, Bylakuppe, that mKhan-po Kun-bzang-dpal-ldan, in his Bodhicaryāvatāra commentary known as *Kun dpal 'grel pa*, explains the term *rgyal sras* in three ways: 1) *sku'i sras*—the Buddha's own son, e.g. Śākyamuni's son Rahula, 2) *gsung gi sras*—the two types of Buddha's disciples: the Śrāvakas and the Pratyekabuddhas who arose out of the Buddha's speech and 3) *thugs kyi sras*—the Bodhisattvas who generate the Mind of Enlightenment. Here, as is very often the case, the word *rgyal sras* is used as synonymous with *thugs kyi sras*, i.e. Bodhisattva.

²¹⁷ The "degenerate age" (*snyigs dus*; Skt. *kaśāyakāla*, *kalika* or *kaliyuga*) is the fourth age of the aeon in which, according to the Indian Buddhist tradition, the merits of human beings are exhausted and the practice of the Buddhist doctrine declines.

²¹⁸ The words in bold letters form together the name rGyal-sras gZhan-phan-mtha'-yas-'od-zer. Such a play on words is very common in the opening and concluding parts of traditional Tibetan texts, i.e., in the verses of invocation (*mchod par brjod pa*), dedication colophons (*smoṅ byang*), etc.

Numerous noble beings appeared in this Land of Snow, Tibet, after the great illumination of the teaching and practicing²¹⁹ of the sublime Doctrine, both sūtras and tantras, had been widely spread by the emanated translators, scholars and the religious kings.²²⁰

At the time when the terms "early translation" and "new translation of the Mantra[yāna literature]"²²¹ were starting to become established, this great scholar called Rong-zom Mahāpaṇḍita, Mañjuśrīkumāra[bhūta]²²² in a human form who has no equal in this Land of Snow, not even in the three times,²²³ appeared. He was born in sNar Lung-rong,²²⁴ a place in lower Ru-lag²²⁵ in gTsang, to a family of a special lineage of accomplished yogis as the son of the Buddhist practitioner²²⁶ of Rong, Rin-chen-tshul-khrims.

Right from birth he spontaneously possessed the good qualities of knowledge, and his excellent conduct was seen without obscurations. For this reason, some people, such as his father, said that he was the immediate reincarnation of Paṇḍita Smṛtijñāna,²²⁷ and some said that he was the reincarnation of one called Paṇḍita Phra-la-ring-mo who came to Tibet.²²⁸

²¹⁹ "Teaching and practicing" (*bshad sgrub*) are the two main traditions of propagating and upholding the doctrine which are represented institutionally by monastic colleges and retreat centers, respectively. These two traditions, together with the tradition of performing "rites" (*las*), are called the "three wheels" (*'khor lo gsum*) which are the three aspects of the "way of the wise" (*mkhas pa'i tshul*) (see, for example, Mi-pham's *mKhas 'jug*, p. 513).

²²⁰ The term "religious kings" (*chos rgyal*) refers to Srong-btsan-sgam-po (ca. 618-650), Khri-srong-lde-btsan (ca. 740-798) and Khri-ral-pa-can (?-841 or 838), also known as Khri-gtsug-lde-btsan.

²²¹ The terms "early" and "new translations" refer to the so-called two periods of the "early" and "later propagation" of Buddhism in Tibet. See introduction, note 8.

²²² One of the names of Mañjuśrī.

²²³ Past, present and future.

²²⁴ The *rNam thar* (fol. 330b) reads sNar Klung-rong, the *rTogs brjod* (p. 140) sNar Lung-rong, the edition of the *Blue Annals* used by Roerich (see Roerich, p. 160) and *Crystal Mirror* (see Vol V, p. 237) read sNar Khungs-rong. The Sichuan edition of the Blue annals reads sNar Lung-rong. Roerich, however, translated *snar* as "in the border". The *Tshig mdzod chen mo* indicates Rong-zom-pa's place of birth as Khung-rong.

²²⁵ One of the four districts of central Tibet of that time (see note 263).

²²⁶ The word *ban* is an abbreviation of the Sanskrit word *bandhe* or *bande* (Tib. *btsun pa*), a term denoting a Buddhist monk or, in a more general sense, a Buddhist practitioner, whether ordained or lay. The Tibetan word *btsun pa*, however, denotes monks or nuns (*btsun ma*) only.

²²⁷ Smṛtijñāna, a great Indian Buddhist scholar, is said to have come to Tibet in search of his mother who had taken birth in Eastern Tibet as a being in one of the ephemeral hells (*dmayal ba nyi tshe ba*). After finding his mother, he remained in Tibet, but since he had no translator and since he had only a little knowledge of the Tibetan language, he could not be of great benefit to the Tibetan people. Unrecognized, he wandered through Khams working as a

He used to speak Sanskrit and carry on various religious talks even from the time he was a child sitting on [his] mother's lap. The mother, holding [him] on her lap, went along with [some] relatives to [see] the great Lord [Atīśa] Dīpaṃkara [Śrījñāna].²²⁹ She met him on the bank of the hot spring of Rong and said, "What kind of child is this who speaks Sanskrit and carries on various religious talks right from birth? Lord, please give him a religious discourse." Lord [Dīpaṃkara] took the child in his lap and with a smiling face asked him questions in Sanskrit, such as "*Kinaho?*"²³⁰ Because the child answered without hindrance, he praised and honoured him, saying, "He is the immediate reincarnation of the great Master Kṛṣṇācārin."²³¹ How could I give to him a religious discourse?" And so, he became undisputedly known to all as an

shepherd. Later on he was recognized as a great scholar and taught actively in lDan-ma and sKyu-ra districts of Khams (near present Jyekundo). He is said to have written several treatises on grammar and also to have translated a few works before his death. (This information is based on *The Words of My Perfect Teacher*, P. 27, the NSTB Vol. 1, p. 703, and the *Blue Annals*, p. 160.) In regard to this matter bDud-'joms Rin-po-che says: "But in the lineage of the Anthologised Sūtras (*mdo-mang*, T 846-1108), [a section] of the Kangyur, Rongzompa follows immediately after Smṛtijñānakīrti, a point which requires consideration [for it would be impossible for one to be the immediate reincarnation of the other if they were master and disciple]." (Translated by G. Dorje and M. Kapstein; NSTB Vol. 1, p. 703).

²²⁸ Ngor-chen, in his *rDo rje theg pa'i bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag* (p. 353 leafs. 3-4), reports that this paṇḍita (text reads 'Phra-la-ras) translated Ācārya Kun-dga'-snying-po's commentary on the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*. Using the method of *grong 'jug* (on this method, one of the six yogas of Naropa, see, for example, Evans-Wentz's *Geheimlehren aus Tibet*, pp. 198ff.), he says, 'Phra-la-ras transferred his consciousness and took birth as Rong-pa Chos-bzangs (sic) who himself wrote numerous "emerged" or "adventitious doctrines" (*rdol chos*) (on this term see introduction, note 6), one of which is on this commentary. The *rNam thar* reports that Phra-la-ring-mo came to Khams where he translated various works such as *gSang ba 'dus pa'i rgya che 'grel pa chen po*.

²²⁹ Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna is the actual ordination name of Atīśa (ca. 982-1054).

²³⁰ I was unable to find the meaning of this word. The word *kinaho* (or maybe *kim aho*) does not seem to be the complete question but rather appears to indicate a question beginning with this word(s).

²³¹ The full name, as given in *rNam thar* and *rTogs brjod*, is Nag-po-zhabs-chen-po-spyod-pa (pa). Hence, the name Kṛṣṇācārin (Nag-po-spyod-pa) is equivalent to the names Kṛṣṇācārya, Kṛṣṇapāda and Kanhapāda (see L. Candra's *Tibetan Sanskrit Dictionary*). In Nag-po-spyod-pa's biography by Jo-nang Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, the names Nag-po-zhabs (Kṛṣṇapāda) and Nag-po-spyod-pa (Kṛṣṇācārin or Kṛṣṇācārya) are used alternately. The *Blue Annals* mentions Rong-zom-pa's meeting Atīśa twice. In the context of Rong-zom-pa's biography Atīśa is said to have recognised Rong-zom-pa as the reincarnation of Ācārya Kṛṣṇapāda the great (Roerich, p. 161) and, in the passage regarding Atīśa's arrival in Tibet (Roerich, p. 256), as the reincarnation of Kṛṣṇācārya. This master, also known as Ballācārya, who is one of the eighty-four siddhas, was one of Atīśa's teachers (see Chattopadhyaya, p. 68, Roerich, p. 243 and *Crystal Mirror* Vol. 5, p. 238). Kṛṣṇācārin studied under the Master Jālandhara in Somapurī and his main practice was that of the *Hevajra-tantra*, a practice which he carried on for twelve years. For his biography and for a list of the sixty-four works ascribed to him in the *bsTan 'gyur* see, for example, Robinson, pp. 81-85 and pp. 295-297, and *Tāranātha's Life of Kṛṣṇācārya/Kāṇha*, David Templeman, trans., LTWA, 1989.

Emanation Body.²³² At that time, some said without [sufficient] consideration, "Since Kṛṣṇācārin became enlightened in the intermediate state (*bar do*),²³³ it is not logical that he took [another] birth." Some [others] said, "Kṛṣṇācārin is certainly said to have accomplished the noble [stage of Buddhahood] in the intermediate state; however, even though he is a Buddha, why shouldn't he appear as an Emanation of Artistry, of Birth or of Great Enlightenment?"²³⁴

In his childhood, he took delight in every Indian master he saw, and they spontaneously conversed with each other. As a small child, while studying under 'Gar-ston Tshul-khrims-bzang-po,²³⁵ he overawed the confidence of the persons present there through religious talks [conducted] by means of playful debates. Therefore, once when [his] father came to bring provisions, the monks present there said, "Since this little boy of yours is very rude, he is very astute in vexing us constantly. Therefore, it would be good if you took him back."²³⁶ The father asked the master if he should take him back, and the master replied,

²³² The term *sprul sku* is used in Tibet in two different ways: 1) to refer to the Emanation Body (*nirmāṇakāya*), one of the three Buddha Bodies (*trikāya*) and 2) as a designation for reincarnated masters (*yang srid*). This might have been the cause for the controversy in the following passage.

²³³ This refers to certain yoga practices which enable the practitioner to achieve enlightenment during the *bar do*, that is, during the intermediate state between death and rebirth which can last up to forty-nine days. An accomplished master who is skilled in such yogas may develop the ability to recognize the nature of the mind and use the intermediate state to transform it into an enlightened state through recognizing its clear-light nature. Having attained liberation or Buddhahood in this way, he would not have to take another birth. On this, see for example Kar-ma-gling-pa's *Bar do thos grol* translated by W. Y. Evans-Wentz under the title *The Tibetan Book of the Death*, London, Oxford University Press, 1957 or by F. Fremantle and Chögyam Trungpa under the same title, Berkeley and London, Shambhala, 1975; Chökyi Nyima Rinpoche's *The Bardo Guidebook*, Hong Kong, Rangjung Yeshe, 1991; Lati Rinbochay and Jeffrey Hopkins' *Death, Intermediate State, and Rebirth in Tibetan Buddhism*, Ithaca, Snow Lion, 1979.

²³⁴ These three types of emanations are referred to in *Sūtrālamkāra / mDo sde rgyan*, Chap. 10, verse 64 (T 4020, rNying-ma edition Vol. 77, p. 7, leaf 21₂ / Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang edition, p. 48₁₂): *bzo dang skye dang byang chub che// mya ngan 'das pa rtag ston pa'i// sangs rgyas sprul pa'i sku 'di ni// rnam par grol ba'i thabs chen no//*. Mi-pham, in his *mKhas 'jug* (pp. 405-406), explains these forms of emanations as follows: The Emanation of Great Enlightenment (*byang chub chen po*), or the Supreme Emanation (*mchog gi sprul sku*), is an emanation of a Teacher (*ston pa*) who demonstrates the twelve activities (*mdzad pa bcu gnyis*), such as Śākyamuni Buddha. The Emanation of Artistry (*bzo sprul sku*) shows itself—for the sake of taming others—in emanations of various sorts of beings, like the emanation of the "odour-eater" musician (*dri za'i pi war len pa*), who was manifested in order to tame the "odour-eater" Rab-dga'. According to Mi-pham, it does not appear as images of the Buddha, as relics, lotuses, precious stones, etc., as asserted by some people. These, states Mi-pham, belong to a fourth category, namely, Emanation of Various [Forms] (*sna tshogs sprul sku*) for the benefit of others. The Emanation of Birth (*skye ba sprul sku*) is an emanation which occurs by way of birth; it can appear as various living beings, such as animals, in order to tame others.

²³⁵ According to the *rTogs brjod* (p. 143₄), Rong-zom-pa was twelve years old at that time.

²³⁶ For other readings of this passage, see the introduction, pp. 29-30.

"Do not say such a thing! He understands all doctrines correctly, and therefore, [his] criticism is not without a reason."

At the age of eleven, he studied dialectical philosophy and the path of logical argumentation. He used to uninterruptedly repeat, without additions or omissions, all the master taught, like a perfect copy, even while at play during the breaks of the teachings. He internalised whatever he studied after hearing it once, without mistaking even a single word, and therefore became known as an emanation of Mañjuśrī. At the age of twelve, he completed all learning and reflection, and there seemed to be nobody to make an additional contribution [to his knowledge] through teaching [him] something new. Even though he did not study the Vivartha²³⁷ manuscripts and the like, he understood them without any hindrance just by glancing at them. It is said that he spontaneously understood different kinds of languages such as Sanskrit and even the various signs and sounds of animals.

From the time he was a child onwards, he composed many treatises such as the *Commentary to the Gateway of Language* (*sMra sgo 'grel*).²³⁸ He tremendously benefitted those devoted to the Doctrine, and particularly those who entered the gate of the Mantra[yāna], through various practical instructions for carrying out tantric rites²³⁹ and for the attainment of accomplishments (*dnegos grub*; *siddhi*). He spontaneously knew the systematic formulations of limitless extensive basic texts which were not based on a mere single specific topic, not to mention the [subjects of learning] well known in India and Tibet such as the outer and inner sciences,²⁴⁰ all the Buddhist

²³⁷ The Vivartha or Vartu script (the *rNam thar*, fol. 333a₂, reads *bis da'i po ti*) is an Indian script believed by Tibetan tradition to have served as the base for the *U med* script developed by Thonmi Sambhota. The base for the *U chen* script is, according to this theory, the Lantsa script which is commonly used by Nepalese Buddhists and is also used in ornamental writing by both Nepalese and Tibetans. This theory is to be found in Tibetan sources from the seventeenth century onwards and was accepted by most Tibetans. Gendun Chopel criticized this theory and suggested the Gupta script as the basis for the Tibetan *U chen* script, and the *U med* script as the natural outcome of writing *U chen* quickly. This theory is nowadays accepted by most modern scholars. See N. Narkyid *The Tibet Journal* VII no. 3, 1982, pp. 23-34.

²³⁸ In the sDe-dge edition of the *bsTan 'gyur* both the basic text, *sMra ba'i sgo mtshon cha lta bu* / [*Vacanāmukhāyudhopama-nāma*] (T 4295), and its commentary, *sMra ba'i sgo mtshon cha lta bu zhes bya ba'i 'grel pa* / [*Vacanāmukhāyudhopama-nāma-vṛtti*] (T 4296), are ascribed to Smṛtijñānakīrti. See also the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 3-4.

²³⁹ "Rites" (*las*) refers here most probably to the Four [Tantric] Rites (*las bzhi*) of pacification (*zhi ba*), enrichment (*rgyas pa*), overpowering (*dbang*) and wrath (*drag po*).

²⁴⁰ The four "outer sciences", or rather the four secular fields of study, are: arts, grammar, medicine and epistemology. The "inner science" is the study of Buddhist philosophy.

scriptures, the Vedas, treatises on logic and epistemology, and texts on verse and poetry. Therefore, the mark of a great saint who attained the Four Specific Perfect Awarenesses²⁴¹ actually became manifest [within him]. He learned by heart all the words and meanings even of the profound Indian texts—sūtras, tantras and treatises—which he had not seen previously, without having to read them more than once or twice at the most. Further, he was famous for attaining a firm retention²⁴² [ability due to] which he did not have to rely on books. Thus has it been stated.

²⁴¹ The "Four Specific Perfect Awarenesses" (*so so yang dag rig pa bzhi*; Skt. *catuḥpratisaṃvid*) are, according to Mi-pham: 1) The Specific Perfect Awareness of Meaning (*don*): being an expert with regard to the nature of samsaric and nirvanic phenomena and their divisions, which implies the proper understanding of both the extensive and the profound aspects—i.e. the Ten Fields of Expertise (*mkhas bya'i gnas bcu*) and the Four Compendia (*sdom bzhi*), respectively, and therefore, having no obscurations in regard to the meaning of all objects of knowledge. 2) The Specific Perfect Awareness of Dharma (*chos*): the expertise in the words and meanings of the sublime doctrine and its teachings. 3) The Specific Perfect Awareness of Etymologies (*nges pa'i tshig*): mastering the languages of the various living being such as gods, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, humans, etc., and their various sounds and signs, and thus being able to communicate with them effectively. 4) The Specific Awareness of Confidence (*spobs pa*): having accomplished the first three Specific Perfect Awarenesses—the ability to expound the excellent teachings, to engage oneself in debate and composition and thus to possess the fearless confidence to benefit living beings and the capacity to vanquish perverse views. For a detailed explanation of the Four Specific Awarenesses, see Mi-pham's *mKhas 'jug*, pp. 468-512.

²⁴² "Retention" (*gzungs*; *dhāraṇī*) literally means to "hold" or to "retain" and denotes 1) A formula which is normally believed to protect the one who chants it from various dangers. In its broader sense, it may denote not only the formula but also the content held within it. Hence, "attaining a *dhāraṇī*" could literally mean attaining the realization of the "information" stored in the formula. The *dhāraṇī* in this case serves as an iconic sign which reminds the one who chants it of its content (see J. Gyatso's *Letter Magic* in *In the Mirror of Memory*, J. Gyatso, Ed.). 2) Retentive ability or, to use Klong-chen-pa's words: "not to let slip from memory" (see Guenther's *Kindly Bent to Ease Us* Part III, p. 130, note 3). In this case it is often referred to as *mi brjed pa'i gzungs* (lit. "retention, that is, not forgetting"). Mi-pham, in his *mKhas 'jug* (p. 353ff.), explains *mi brjed pa'i gzungs* as the retention of words and meanings which arises concomitantly with mindfulness and discriminative awareness (*mtshungs par ldan pa'i dran dang shes rab*). The cause of attaining retention is called the retention which is the entrance to the attainment of readiness to accept (*bzod pa thob pa sgo'i gzungs*) the meaning of "un arisen" (*skye med*) through focusing on the sameness of the two truths (*bden gnyid mnyam pa nyid*). The essence of retention is the retention of words (*tshig gi gzungs*) and the retention of meaning (*don gyi gzungs*). The result or the function of attaining the retention is the retention of the mantra (*sngags kyi gzungs*). According to Mi-pham, such retentive ability arises as a result of either the ripening (*rnam smin*) of one's *karma*, being accustomed to hearing teachings (*thos pa goms pa*) or from concentration (*ting nge 'dzin*) and would be minor (*chung*), medium (*'bring*) or great (*chen po*) respectively. Regarded from the perspective of the person, there are again three degrees: the retention of a mental continuum of an ordinary person (*so skye'i rgyud*), which is minor; the retention of those abiding in one of the first seven impure stages (*ma dag sa bdun pa*), which is medium; and the retention of a mental continuum of those abiding in the three higher pure stages (*dag sa pa'i rgyud*), which is great. Mi-pham says that there are many numerations for the different types of retention and presents the numeration of *gZungs dbang gis zhus pa'i mdo* which specifies eight kinds of retentions: 1) *sgra dbyangs rnam par dag pa'i gzungs*, 2) *mi zad pa'i za ma tog gi gzungs*, 3) *'khyil ba mtha' yas pa'i gzungs*, 4) *rgya mtsho'i phyag rgya'i gzungs*,

The master himself said, "Neither were [my] studies few, as I have studied all the doctrines translated into Tibetan, nor did I grasp them too quickly, as I did not need to study any of the doctrines more than once."²⁴³ One is indeed [able to] grasp innumerable doctrines in every single moment through attaining the Concentration of the Stream of the Doctrine (*chos rgyun gyi ting nge 'dzin*).²⁴⁴ Nonetheless, it seems that this statement is to be understood in accordance with the ordinary modes of learning and reflection. He [had] a matchless quick wit [regarding] profound and extensive [truths]—being unrivalled in explaining words which show which sense is referred to, by connecting the Sanskrit and the Tibetan words, and [having] a stainless intellect which directly and exhaustively investigated through the path of reasoning the meaning of all objects of knowledge. Due to that he became worthy of being praised in assemblies by many scholars, who said, "It is as if the five [attributes]—Dignaga's discriminating understanding, Dharmakīrti's disputation [ability], the [great] learning of the venerable Vasubandhu, Candragomin's expressive [ability] and the Master Āryaśūra's [talent for] composition—were all gathered in one person".²⁴⁵ In particular, the scholars of that time praised him by saying, "Regarding treatises of grammar and logic, there is no one superior to him, not only in Tibet but even in India". Furthermore, it is said that contemporary people composed various verses of wonderment [about him] such as:

Mur-pa Tshur-ston is learned in letters,

Me-grags of Grang is skilled in ritualism,

5) *padma bkod pa'i gzungs*, 6) *chags pa med par snyoms par 'jug pa'i gzungs*, 7) *rnam par gdon mi za ba'i gzungs* and 8) *sangs rgyas kyi byin gyis brlabs pa'i gzungs*.

²⁴³ For other readings of this passage, see the introduction, pp. 31-32.

²⁴⁴ Klong-chen-pa, relying on the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* / *mDo sde rgyan*, Chap. 15, verse 3 (T 4020, Vol. 77, p. 10, leaf 36₁ / Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang edition, p. 65₈) indicates the Concentration of the Stream of the Doctrine as one of the special attributes (*yon tan gyi khyad par*) which one attains on the Great Path of Accumulation (*tshogs lam chen po*). Having attained this concentration, one is said to receive numerous instructions from the Buddhas in order to obtain tranquillity and extensive primordial gnosis (see his *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 205₁).

²⁴⁵ According to the *Gu bkra chos 'byung* (p. 316), Rong-zom-pa was born endowed with these attributes as a result of his father Rong-ban Rin-chen-tshul-khrims having performed the ritual of the five awakenings of the causal phase (*rgyu'i dus kyi mngon byang lnga'i cho ga*) (cf. the NSTB Vol. 2, p. 64, note 890).

'Gos-lo Khug-pa is master of grammar and logic,

[But] only Chos-bzang combines them all.²⁴⁶

Likewise, this mahāpaṇḍita, who was unobscured with regard to all objects of knowledge, composed very many treatises on sūtra, tantra, the traditional fields of knowledge (*rig gnas*), even down to those [regarding the concerns of] ordinary worldlings [such as] farming, animal husbandry and dairy production, with the sole intention of benefitting others. In some earlier histories, [the number of] the volumes [composed by him] is said to reach nearly sixty, and in some others a large number is said to exist. It is also widely said that from among those [volumes], most of the esoteric instructions on the Mantra[yāna practice] have disappeared, having been taken away by the *ḍākiṇīs* [to the pure realms].²⁴⁷

He possessed an unhindered clairvoyance through which he knew the minds of the disciples and the [three] times—past, present and future—, and he composed [works] solely for the sake of benefitting [others], motivated by great compassion. For that reason, it was widely said formerly that whatever he composed would be of benefit for disciples; as for the tantric instructions composed by him, it never happened that the signs of blessing did not arise through their being practiced in conformity with the text by students in the lineage, even without their having received the text transmissions. Even after his death he appeared in person as a result of the prayers of some [persons] and removed doubts regarding the esoteric instructions, etc., and the teachings [he gave then] are famed as having an extraordinary benefit and blessing. There was no [matter on which] he was asked to compose a text that he was not familiar with. He composed without hindrance, not having to rely [even] slightly on collecting books, studying them, etc. at the time of composing. In the [texts] composed in this way, there were not even slight mistakes in the wording of [quotations from] the authoritative scriptures, and it was impossible

²⁴⁶ For other readings of this passage, see the introduction, pp. 32-34.

²⁴⁷ Some esoteric texts such as tantras, esoteric instructions (*man ngag*), etc. are said to be either entrusted to certain "guardians" or, in some cases, taken away by them in order to protect them from being harmed or misused. In rDo-grub-chen 'Jigs-med-bstan-pa'i-nyi-ma's *mdzod kyi lde mig* (p. 228), for example, the entrusting of the *Guhyagarbha-tantra* is explained as follows: The tantra can be entrusted to either Vajrapāṇi, to a yogi or to a woman. In most cases, such as in this one, the *ḍākiṇīs* act as the female guardians.

to find a reason to criticize them, as they were in harmony with the Doctrine in all respects, both in wording and content: the words were refined, the meaning excellent, they were coherent with logic, and pure in style. And since all [his works were] perfectly correct treatises which profoundly elucidate the essential points to be understood, they were accepted by all scholars as similar to the teachings of the Buddha.

He studied under many Indian paṇḍitas such as the Indian preceptors Mañjuśrīvarma, Mañjuśrījñāna, Upāyaśrīmitra, Buddhākarabhadra, Devākaracandra, Parameśvara and Aśokavajra,²⁴⁸ and acted as their interpreter. He translated many works of the Buddha's Word and treatises such as the *Vajrabhairava-[tantra?]* (*rDo rje 'jigs byed*), *The Third Ordinance* (*rtog pa gsum pa*),²⁴⁹ *The Tantra of the Black Yamari* (*gShin rje gshed dgra nag gi rgyud*),²⁵⁰ [*The Sādhana of the Litani of the Names of Mañjuśrī*, known as] *Esoteric Mañjuśrī* (*'Jam dpal gsang ldan*),²⁵¹ *Cakrasaṃvara-mūlatantra* (*bDe mchog rtsa rgyud*)²⁵² and *The Adamantine Discrimination of the Meaning of the Mantras* (*sNgags don rdo rje rab 'byed*).²⁵³ Since the translations were very good, they were regarded as a standard of excellence among the new translations.

All those Indian scholars said, "Dharmabhadra! You should compose many doctrinal works and [thus] protect living beings. We see people in [our homeland], India, who compose doctrinal texts, even though they do not have as much as a third of your knowledge regarding the traditions of grammar and logic, not to mention your knowledge of other [traditions]. So why don't you compose?"

²⁴⁸ The *rNam thar* (fol. 334a), the *rTogs brjod* (p. 146), the *Blue Annals* (Roerich, p. 163) and the *bDud 'joms chos byung* (NSTB Vol. 1, p. 708) read Amoghavajra.

²⁴⁹ *dPal gshin rje'i gshed nag po'i rgyud kyi rgyal po rtog pa gsum pa / Śrī-Kṣṇayamāritantrarājatrikalpa-nāma* (or *dPal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rgyud kyi rgyal po / Śrī-Vajrabhairava-tantrarāja-nāma*) (T 469); see also Appendix B.

²⁵⁰ *De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi sku gsung thugs gshin rje gshed nag po zhes bya ba'i rgyud / Sarvatathāgataśāyavākīcittakṣṇayamāri-nāma-tantra* (T 467).

²⁵¹ *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi mtshan yang dag par brjod pa'i sgrub thabs / Ārya-Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgītisādhana-nāma* (T 2599).

²⁵² According to the NSTB Vol. 2, p. 265, this refers to *rGyud kyi rgyal po dpal bde mchog nyung ngu / Tantrarājaśrīlaghusaṃvara-nāma* (T 368) (?).

²⁵³ *dPal gshin rje gshed po'i rtsa ba'i sngags don rdo rje rab tu 'byed pa zhes bya ba / Śrī-Yamāntakavajraprabheda-nāma-mūlamantrārtha*, T 2014.

Earlier, at one time in his youth, while studying the doctrine-cycle of the early translations under mDo-ston Seng-ge-[rgyal-mtshan],²⁵⁴ he dreamt of eating *zan*²⁵⁵ he had prepared out of the *Guhyagarbha-[tantra]* (*gSang ba snying po*) and [of eating] a vegetable dish he had cooked out of the *Buddhasamāyoga-[tanta]* (*Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor*).²⁵⁶ When [he] told [that dream] to the master, [the master] said, "This is a sign that you have understood these doctrines. Therefore, you should compose commentaries on them". So, in order to fulfil the guru's order, he composed three²⁵⁷ esoteric instructions based on the three trainings of Mantra[yāna]:

- Brief-and-Extensive [Instructions] on the Tantric Commitments* (*Dam tshig mdo rgyas*),²⁵⁸ which is a definitive utterance regarding the meaning of the training of the superior [tantric] moral discipline.
- The Four Modes and Fifteen Aspects Commentary* (*'Grel pa tshul bzhi yan lag bco lnga pa*),²⁵⁹ [composed] in order to teach the training of the superior [tantric] concentration.
- The View and Meditation of the Great Perfection* (*rDzogs pa chen po'i lta sgom*), which teaches the training of the superior [tantric] discriminative awareness.

²⁵⁴ According to the *rTogs brjod* (p. 144₂), this master was a great scholar and expounder of the Zur tradition (*zur 'chad pa mkhas pa chen po*).

²⁵⁵ *Zan* is a lump of kneaded *rtsam pa* (flour made of roasted barley grains) known as *spag* in dBus and gTsang. The word *zan* is often translated as "porridge", however, since it has a consistency similar to that of dough rather than that of porridge, and since it seems to serve as a side dish in the same manner that rice, potatoes or bread do in other parts of the world, I prefer not to use the word porridge. As this preparation is a uniquely Tibetan food, I have chosen simply to leave the Tibetan word rather than translate it.

²⁵⁶ *dPal sangs rgyas thams cad dang mnyam par sbyor ba mkha' 'gro ma sgyu ma bde ba'i mchog ces bya ba'i rgyud phyi ma* / Śrī-Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasambara-nāma-uttaratantra (T 366). This may refer also to the following tantra (T 367).

²⁵⁷ According to the *Tho yig*, these are three sets of works. The *rNam thar* (fol. 335b₃) and the *rTogs brjod* (p. 144₆) mention also the commentary on the *Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor* next to the *gSang snying* commentary as a work on the training of concentration and refer to the existence of "many other" esoteric instructions on the training of discriminative awareness. *Gu bkra chos 'byung* (p. 319) identifies *Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor* as the work on the training of discriminative awareness. *bDud 'joms chos 'byung*, which adopts this version, reads: "the *Commentary on the Buddhasamāyoga*, which consists of esoteric instructions on the view and meditation of the Great Perfection" (translation in the NSTB Vol. 1, p. 707).

²⁵⁸ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 3-2.

²⁵⁹ This is his long commentary on the *Guhyagarbha-tantra*; regarding the title and the terms "four modes" and "fifteen aspects", see the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 1-3.

These are the three esoteric instructions. In addition, he composed a commentary on [*Buddha*]*saṃāyoga* (*mNyam sbyor*)²⁶⁰ and various esoteric instructions and commentaries on the *Executioner Cycle* (*gShed skor*) such as on the *Tantra of the Purification of All Evil Destinies* (*Ngan song sbyong rgyud*)²⁶¹ and the *Bhairava[tantra]* (*'Jigs byed*), and numerous treatises such as *Entering the Way of the Great Vehicle* (*Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa*).²⁶²

Amongst the majority of the scholars of the four "horns" [or districts] of [central] Tibet at that time,²⁶³ some accepted [his teachings] with respect and even designated him as an emanation of the Buddha himself, [but] some wondered, "How could it be that a native of Tibet composed so many more treatises than the Indian scholars?"²⁶⁴ And so, many scholars such as Yang-khyed Lama of Shab,²⁶⁵ Do-ba of Mar, mDa'-ba bSam-gtan of 'U-yug, Hūm-snying of Khyung-po in mDo, rGya-mtsho-'bar of Se-khrom, mTsham-ston Go-cha, Dar-chung of sPang-kha, lHas-btsas of 'Gos²⁶⁶ and rGyal-tshul of rGya, approached this master, like bulls sharpening their horns, wondering whether they could refute him. This great being, a lion among teachers [whose] demeanour is majestic, destroyed their mountain of arrogance by their merely

²⁶⁰ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 3-1.

²⁶¹ *De bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas ngan song thams cad yongs su sbyong ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i brtag pa / Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatejorājasya Tathāgatasya Arhato Samyaksambuddhasya kalpanāma*, T 483. This yogatantra (for an exact classification of this tantra, see, for example, Klong-chen-pa's *Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 299₁) was edited and translated by T. Skorupski, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1983.

²⁶² See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 2-1.

²⁶³ According to the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (see *bar dbus gtsang ru bzhi*), during the time of king Srong-btsan-sgam-po, the central part of Tibet—which is one of the three main parts, i.e., the "upper" (*stod*), "lower" (*smad*) and "central" (*bar*) parts of the country, was further divided into four districts (*dbus gtsang ru bzhi*) g.Yas-ru and Ru-lag in gTsang, and dBu-ru and g.Yo-ru in dBus. In the seventeenth century the names were changed into: g.Yas-ru, g.Yon-ru, sBus-ru and Gung-ru, respectively.

²⁶⁴ According to Karmay (1988, p. 125), the critiques regarding Rong-zom-pa's writing of tratises suggest that he was one of the early writers in the eleventh century.

²⁶⁵ Could he be one of the four "pillars" (*ka ba bzhi*) or main students of Zur-chung-pa, who was known for his expertise in sūtra. Cf. sNgags-'chang bSam-grub-rdo-rje, pp. 633-4 (there indicated as Yang-khyed Bla-ma of sKyed-lung).

²⁶⁶ 'Gos-lo was one of the greatest opponents of the rNying-ma-pas. According to the *Blue Annals* (see Roerich, pp. 359ff.) and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (see the NSTB Vol. 1, p. 914 and Vol. 2, p. 58, note 783), he did not receive the teachings he asked for from Zur-chung-pa, and therefore to have nursed a grudge towards the rNying-ma masters. After his return from India he reported that the old tantras were not to be found there and therefore could not be authentic. He is mainly associated with the propagation and teachings of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*.

hearing the roar of the Five-Faced-One²⁶⁷ —[that is, his] teachings which consist in perfect presentations of the authoritative scriptures and reasoning, wording and sense. Then they all became his disciples, placing their heads respectfully at his lotus feet. Thus has it been stated.

Also the translator of Go-rub,²⁶⁸ a fully ordained monk called Chos-kyi-shes-rab who was known for having attained a firm retention (*gzungs*) of many teachings, had at first caluminated [Rong-zom] until he saw [his] *Entering the Way of the Great Vehicle*, and on account of this, a great respect grew [in him]. He then, honouring [Rong-zom-pa] with many gifts, eventually announced and confessed his own previous faults, and requested [of Rong-zom-pa] that [he] be accepted as a disciple. He studied many doctrines such as the *Secret Tantra of [Wrathful] Mañjuśrī* ('*Jam dpal gsang ba'i rgyud*)²⁶⁹ [also known as] the *Ordinance of the Victorious Wrathful [Mañjuśrī]* (*Khro bo rnam par rgyal ba'i rtog pa*)²⁷⁰ under [Rong-zom-pa]. While studying the *Secret Tantra [of Wrathful Mañjuśrī]*, Rong-zom Mahāpaṇḍita said, "If we now had the Sanskrit manuscript, we would get such and such a translation". The translator of Go-rub kept that in mind, and later on he looked at a Sanskrit manuscript which he received from a paṇḍita called Lord Kṛṣṇa²⁷¹ and studied [it] under him, and so it happened that it was [exactly] as Rong-zom Mahāpaṇḍita said. Hence he developed much respect [for Rong-zom-pa] and handed the Sanskrit manuscript to him. Then [Rong-zom-pa] made corrections regarding the translation in the tantra, and [the translator of Go-rub] heard the exposition once more. Thus has it been related. These accounts are given in Ngor-chen's (1382-1456) *Presentation of the Performance Tantra* (*sPyod rgyud rnam bzhag*) as well.²⁷² Similarly, many wonderful accounts on Rong-zom-pa are to

²⁶⁷ This term could be either an epithet of the Great Īśvara or a synonym for "lion". Its meaning as "lion" seems to be more suitable here as it coincides with the word "roar".

²⁶⁸ All other sources except *Gu bkra chos 'byung* (p. 319) read Gu-rub (see the *rNam thar*, fol. 333a-b, the *rTogs brjod*, p. 146, the *Blue Annals*, pp. 162-3 and the NSTB Vol. 1, p. 708).

²⁶⁹ *Mañjuśrīkarmacatuścakraḡyatantra* (T 838).

²⁷⁰ *Khro bo rnam par rgyal ba'i rtog pa gsang ba'i rgyud* / *Krodhaviḡayakalpaguḡyatantra* (T 604). Another name of this tantra is *Pra khog gsang ba'i rgyud*; for the various names of this tantra see the *rNam thar*, fol. 4b₂, and Ngor-chen's *sPyod rgyud rnam gzhag*, p. 252 leaf. 4 and p. 253 leafs. 1-2.

²⁷¹ According to the *rNam thar* (fol. 4b₆ gloss), this refers to Kṛṣṇacārin junior (Paṇḍita Nag-po-chung- ba).

²⁷² Ngor-chen's account in his *sPyod rgyud rnam bzhag* (p. 252, leaf. 4 and p. 253, leafs. 1-2) is a bit more elaborate. He says that there were three different translations of this tantra: The

be found in the writings of the translators of the new [schools]. Tibetan translators such as Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug of Mar²⁷³ and all intelligent [persons] who were known as scholars bowed to his feet, and [his] liberated career as a scholar was widely known to be indisputable. Even nowadays an incomparable faith is undeniably born [in] anyone possessing the eye of intellect after having a look at the treatises of this [master], whether major or minor. Therefore, he was praised by the great translator of 'Gos [gZhon-nu-dpal] and others who said, "No scholar equal to him has appeared in Tibet, the Land of Snow".²⁷⁴ And [this] was widely known.

Likewise, in spite of [Rong-zom-pa's] attaining the rank of the great unrivalled Lord of Speech [Mañjuśrī], [he] abided in the nature of the Master Śāntideva, the upholder of humbleness and of a calm and tamed conduct, without having even a bit of pride and self-praise, and was endowed with the power of patience and great love, having no contempt for or intention to harm others. Therefore, this great being, not being stained with avarice, gave lavishly—material gifts to the common people and doctrinal gifts to those who entered the religious path—and applied himself to caring for all disciples with great compassion. He cherished the vows and the meditation practice like [one cherishes] a precious jewel [and] one's own life (*srog gi dbang po*, lit. "faculty of life"), and he established also others in them. Such deeds of a noble person emerged spontaneously and effortlessly. It was known to the people of that time that there were numerous [supernormal phenomena performed by Rong-zom-pa]—such as flying like a bird onto a high, broad and steep cliff which

first one which was translated by Guru Padmasambhava's disciples Paṇḍita Bidya-ā-ka-ra-pa-bha and gNubs-na-mkha'i-nying-po is considered by him as poor, the second one by Ācārya Shānti-garbha as fair and the third one by Paṇḍita Bidyā-ā-ka-ra-pa-bha and Ācārya Shri-lendra-bodhi as good. These translations, he says, were later on corrupted by some Tibetans who inserted some non-original verses into the text. Later on, during the later period of propagation, when Paṇḍita Kṛṣṇa-pa came to Tibet, he brought with him some Sanskrit manuscripts of the tantra, and so it happened that Gu-rub Lo-tsā-ba, who had kept Rong-zom-pa's remarks in mind, received two of those manuscripts. Gu-rub, after he had found out that Rong-zom-pa was right, offered Rong-zom-pa one of the manuscripts. He studied the tantra under him and then corrected the translation. Rong-zom-pa himself compared later both Sanskrit manuscripts and made the appropriate corrections in Shri-lendra-bodhi's translation. Ngor-chen specifies what kind of corrections were done by Rong-zom-pa and says that this became then the best translation of the tantra.

²⁷³ The *rNam thar* (fol. 333b₂₋₃,) mentions Mar-pa as well and describes him as a very learned lo-tsā-ba. Among the works translated by him, he mentions *dPal bde mchog*, *Ma hā mā ya*, *gShin rje gshed*, and *Kri ya'i sgrub thabs*.

²⁷⁴ See Roerich, p. 166.

was like a surface of a mirror, piercing a dagger into a rock, flying into the sky, knowing the domain and conduct of the gods and demons of Tibet and understanding the minds of the disciples—which manifested as signs of [his] accomplishments, and which were considered as wonders by the common people.²⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the mere enumeration of minor evidence of that kind does not [make for] an astonishing statement regarding such a great sublime being who has attained the Four Specific Perfect Awarenesses; therefore, there is no need to mention them. For the purpose of spreading and propagating the doctrine of the Mantra[yāna] in Tibet, the Land of Snow, this great being lived in the physical form of a yogi, a great holder of the Vajra[yāna]. He lived until the age of one hundred and eighteen and died without any physical illness.²⁷⁶

The lineage of his sons lasted for a long time, and they all attained the Vajrakīla accomplishments.²⁷⁷ As for the disciple lineage, there were many disciples who are specified [as follows]: seventeen translators such as the translator of Go-rub, Do-ba of Mar and the translator [lHas-btsas] of 'Gos; thirty-five great accomplished masters such as rDo-rje-'dzin-pa of g.Yag; one hundred and eighty yoga masters [and] great meditators such as the Master dGon-phub, the brother of Ma-chig Zha-ma;²⁷⁸ five hundred renowned Lamas (*gdugs 'dzin*)²⁷⁹ such as rDo-rje-dbang-phyug, the lay practitioner of Yol-lcags, and Lama Yang-khyed. Thus has it been stated.

The transmitted precepts of the old translations in particular—[namely], all the doctrinal instructions of such masters as Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra and Vairocana—were gathered into and transmitted to the great Rong-zom-pa, and therefore he practiced mainly the doctrines of the old translations.²⁸⁰ He accomplished the Ritual Service and Evocation (*bsnyen sgrub*)²⁸¹ of Ma-[mo],

²⁷⁵ Cf. the introduction, pp. 34-37.

²⁷⁶ Cf. the introduction, p. 37.

²⁷⁷ For his family lineage, see Appendix F.

²⁷⁸ Cf. the introduction, pp. 38-39.

²⁷⁹ According to Khan-pa dBang-phyug-bsod-nams of NNI, this term, *gdugs 'dzin pa* or *gdugs thogs pa* (lit. "parasol holder"), is used to indicate great Lamas, especially in respect to their erudition. Such great Lamas would be designated then as *gdugs 'dzin gyi bla ma*. This expression has its root in the Indian custom of holding a parasol over the honoured person and thus showing great respect for him. The number of parasols held for a Lama is directly proportional to his learnedness. Si-tu Paṇ-chen, for example, relates that after he had a long discussion with a paṇḍit from Benaras called Jayamaṅgala, the paṇḍit praised him saying that a scholar of his calibre would rate seven parasols in India (see Gene Smith 1968, p. 13).

²⁸⁰ For his Lineages of transmission, see Appendix E.

²⁸¹ For a brief explanation of *bsnyen sgrub yan lag bzhi*, see the NSTB Vol. 2, p. 125.

gShin-[rje] and Phur-pa,²⁸² and on account of that, all the eight groups of spirits of Tibet²⁸³ surrendered [to him] and offered [him their] vital heart-[mantras]. He composed various instructions, such as on the vital heart-[mantras] of Tibet's gods and demons and on the objects associated with them.

At the end of his life, Rong-zom-pa himself gave numerous teachings solely in the Sanskrit language to his own daughter, a Wisdom Ḍākiṇī who took the form of a human girl and who spoke only Sanskrit. When this girl reached the age of fifteen, this master, sitting on a stone-seat with a curtain at its back, expounded the Tantras, and during the exposition, this girl, having actually flown, left for [the divine realm] Khasarpaṇa (*mkha'-spyod*). A drop of [her] "secret blood"²⁸⁴ fell in front of the throne, and a medicinal rose plant [bearing] five different flowers consequently appeared. There were two old men who saw all five flowers of that [plant] which was [afterwards] kept as an object of devotion. Nowadays, however, apart from two—the white and the yellow ones—none of the other [flowers] are to be seen. Thus has it been stated in [Jo-nang Kun-dga'-grol-mchog's *Previous Lives*] *Chapter Four: The Biography of Rong-zom-pa* (*Rong zom pa'i rtogs brjod yal 'dab bzhi pa*)²⁸⁵ which was printed in dBus.²⁸⁶

In brief, this master was an unrivalled person who definitely abided on the level of the great noble beings, and therefore, not all [the aspects of his] liberated career as a scholar and as an accomplished master are conceivable to an ordinary intellect. Yet, on [its] ordinary level, [his] liberated career as a

²⁸² These three deities (in Sanskrit Mātaraḥ, Yamāntaka and Vajrakīla) are three of the eight deities (*sgrub pa bka' brgyad*) associated with the Eight Classes of Attainment (*sgrub sde brgyad*) of the Sādhana section of Mahāyoga.

²⁸³ According to the *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, the eight groups of spirits (*sde brgyad*) are: 1) *lha* 2) *klu* 3) *gnod sbyin* 4) *dri za* 5) *lha ma yin* 6) *nam mkha' lding* 7) *mi'am ci* and 8) *lto 'phyen chen po*. Mi-pham, however, gives a different list of these groups: 1) *gshin rje* 2) *ma mo* 3) *lha* 4) *gza'* 5) *klu* 6) *gnod sbyin* 7) *srin po* and 8) *bdud* (see his *dPal sgrub pa chen po bka' brgyad kyi spyi don rnam par bshad pa dngos drub snying po*, fol. 152ff.). G. Dorje, relying on Nupchen Sangye Yeshe's *sDe brgyad gser skyems*, translates it as "Eightfold[!] Groups of Spirits" and lists six such groups (see the NSTB Vol. 2, p. 158).

²⁸⁴ *gSang mtshal* or "secret blood" is the honourific form for menstrual blood (*mngal khrag* or *zla mtshan*).

²⁸⁵ In *Kun dga' grol mchog blo gsal rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum*, *The Autobiographies of Jo-nang Kun-dga'-grol-mchog and His Previous Embodiments* Vol. 1, fols. 139-149.

²⁸⁶ An dBus edition is unknown to me. The edition of his autobiographies and previous embodiments (see the preceding note) is a reproduction from the rGyal-rtse blocks. The text is also mentioned as a printed edition in the Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang's catalogue *Shes bya'i gter mdzod* (Vol. 2, p. 71). The name of the printery, however, is not given there.

scholar within whom the Eight Great Treasures of Confidence²⁸⁷ were liberated is indisputably known. This fragment [of his biography] is based on what has been written in the *Blue Annals* (*Deb sngon*) of the great translator 'Gos [gZhon-nu-dpal] relying on [the account] written by the lay practitioner of Yol, rDo-rje-dbang-phyug, who was a direct disciple of this master. And, adorning it with a few excerpts from the writings of the Tibetan scholars of the past, [I] related [it here] a little bit.

gZhan-phan-mtha'-yas—A Short Biography

So it happened that the wonderful writings of this great paṇḍita, the king of scholars, which existed in large number, became later on a rare scriptural tradition. Yet there are [still] various texts available [nowadays], and this is the result of the heart aspiration of rGyal-sras-gzhan-phan-pa.

rGyal-ba'i-sras-po gZhan-phan-mtha'-yas-'od-zer had been prophesied as the compassion-emanation of the great preceptor Bodhisattva [Śāntarakṣita] and of the great translator Vairocana combined in one [person].²⁸⁸ [The propensities of] the good family of the Great Vehicle awoke [within him] at a young age, and, having attended upon many tutors of the old and new [schools], he accomplished an ocean of studies and contemplations, and the "sign of immanent attainment" of the path of the Mantra[yāna] became manifested. In particular, he was a remarkable person who dispelled the great degeneration of this time in Tibet.

Once, in his childhood, while wandering in the hills, the manual (*kha byang*) for averting the disaster of fire at bSam-yas came into his hands, but he left it with indifference. Later, after he heard that the disaster of fire came upon bSam-yas, he grieved greatly. Again, having [in his possession] a prophetic

²⁸⁷ An enumeration of the Eight Great Treasures of Confidence (*spobs pa'i gter chen po brgyad*) along with a brief explanation according to the *Lalitavistarasūtra* (*rgya cher rol pa*) is given in the NSTB Vol. 2, p. 160.

²⁸⁸ He is also known to be the emanation of the great "treasure-finder" Rig-'dzin gTer-bdag-gling-pa (1646-1714) (see the NSTB Vol. 1, p. 737).

manual for averting the disaster of flood in lHa-sa, he went to lHa-ldan²⁸⁹ secretly without telling the reason to anyone. He accomplished the retreat of Vajrapāṇi Taming Pride (*phyag rdor dregs 'dul gyi sku mtshams*), etc. according to the prophetic manual without any deviation, so that even though there was a very dangerous flood in lHa-sa at that time, [it] was turned away.²⁹⁰ He was a performer of the enlightened activities, such as [the one just mentioned], of the victorious Padma[sambhava] and had the fortune of [being] a great "treasure-discoverer" (*gten ston*).

At first, he lived in pure celibacy, wore white garments and wore his hair in a coiled-up fashion. He had the intention of raising the victory banner of attainments in an uncertain place, and he would have certainly reached the stage of a yoga master who is endowed with great ascetic discipline, and within whom the ability of [mastering] the channels, energy-currents and the stages of generation and perfection arose. Yet, though according to the opinion given once by the [masters] of the past, Lord [Atīśa] and 'Brom-[ston rGyal-ba'i-'byung-gnas], father and son, there is nothing more profound than the Mantra[yāna] for one's own practice, and one is certain to achieve some fruits of accomplishments by staying alone in a solitary place, he left his own benefit aside, [giving it] little importance, and took on the burden of benefitting the Doctrine, being motivated by the request of the assembly of gods, gurus and *dākinīs*, and by the intention of benefitting the Doctrine and living beings in general through establishing [the traditions of] exposition and [meditative] practice of the Sūtra[yāna] and of the Mantra[yāna]. He kept in mind the thought that if one practices the Mantra[yāna] according to the rules given by the great ancient religious king regarding the [three] aspects of the custom of engaging in the doctrine in general—[namely], the conduct [should be] according to the preceptor [Śāntarakṣita], the view according to Nāgārjuna, and

²⁸⁹ Lha-ldan (lit. "deity-possessing") is another name for Lhasa which literally means [the city which] "has", or rather, "is inhabited" by gods.

²⁹⁰ The narration of these two incidents has its origin in the belief that the disasters of fire and water posed a threat to bSam-yas and lHa-sa respectively. In the course of time numerous manuals describing the means of averting these disasters were "found" in lHa-sa and its surrounding areas. For further details on this belief and its origin, see Sørensen 1994, pp. 327-330 and pp. 587-588.

the practice according to Padma[sambhava] and Vimalamitra²⁹¹ —this precious doctrine of the Old Translation [School] will spread somewhat even at the "end of time". So he took upon himself the ascetic manners of shaving the head, [walking] barefoot and wearing saffron robes. He practised according to the permitting and prohibiting monastic rules (*'dul ba'i gnam bkag*), and thus, being naturally unstained, not even by the slightest moral downfall, he was worthy of being praised as an equal of the sublime Upāli.²⁹²

It is said that any person who met him no longer took him for an ordinary [person], and the thought that he is one of the Sixteen Supreme Elders²⁹³ occurred to most [of them]. Because he had attained a high degree of self-reliant discernment (*gzhan dring mi 'jog pa'i rnam dpyod*) concerning the profound meaning of the scriptures, he obtained an adamant confidence which, in regard to comprehending the special features of the view and the tenet system of the tradition of the early translations, [he] could not be surpassed by any opponent. By merely having a discussion with many Geshe and scholars of [the other traditions] such as of the Sa-skye and dGe-lugs,

²⁹¹ This refers to an edict promulgated after the bSam-yas debate (see, for example, Gomez 1983, pp. 427-8, note 10) which, according to traditional sources, took place during the time of the religious king Khri-srong-lde-btsan (ca. 740-798). The debate was between the advocates of the Indian scholastic tradition of the Yogācāra-Madhyamika School headed by Kamalaśīla and the advocates of the Chinese non-scholastic tradition of Dhyāna Buddhism headed by Hashang Mahāyāna. The debate between these two parties, often referred to as one of "Gradualists" and "Simultaneists" or "Spontaneists" respectively, is recorded in both Tibetan and Chinese sources. (According to Gomez, pp. 424-425, the question, as it is reflected in Kamalaśīla's writings on the debate, was not "whether enlightenment is sudden or gradual, but rather whether the different elements of the path should be analysed, defined and practiced separately". The so-called "sudden enlightenment", he says, has rather an immediate, synthetic character, than an "instantaneous" one.) These sources often differ with regard to the course and the outcome of the debate, and to the dates and length of this event. This has led to disagreements among modern scholars regarding the historical details, and the Japanese scholar Imaeda even doubts whether it took place at all. According to Ruegg (1989, p. 91), however, in spite of the differences, the debate most likely did take place and was not a mere fabrication of gSar-ma-pa scholars who were hostile to the teachings of the "Simultaneists" or to the rDzogs-chen doctrines of the rNying-ma-pas. According to the traditional Tibetan sources, the Chinese party was defeated by the Indian one and the latter's doctrine was declared by the king to be authoritative. This was followed by the establishment of the three aspects (mentioned above) according to the Indian tradition. For selected literature on this matter see, for example, Powers, p. 155, note 26.

²⁹² Upāli was one of the ten close Śrāvaka disciples of Buddha Śākyamuni and was known for upholding of the moral discipline (*vinaya*) perfectly.

²⁹³ For a detailed list (Tib./Skt./English) of the Sixteen (Supreme) Elders (*(phags pa'i) gnas brtan bcu drug; ṣoḍaśa sthavirāḥ*), see the NSTB Vol. 2, p. 173.

[these scholars] attained the certainty that he was a marvellous great scholar, and by honouring his lotus feet, accepted [him as an authoritative scholar].²⁹⁴

He applied himself constantly in the activities of teachings and [meditative] practice, and took pains in collecting old books of the rNying-ma [tradition] from all over the three [provinces]—dBus, gTsang and Khams. He took on the burden of [establishing] numerous scholastic colleges for [the study of] the sūtras, tantras and śāstras, [ranging] from [Viśākhadeva's] *Vinayakārikā*²⁹⁵ to the *Glorious Guhyagarbha-[tantra]* and the Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen*),²⁹⁶ and [of providing them with] the necessary resources, [by way of] printing texts and the like.

As it was prophesied by rDo-grub-dbang Rin-po-che ['Jigs-med-phrin-las-'od-zer] (1745-1821) he came to this place, rDzogs-chen [monastery] of Ru-dam.²⁹⁷ The fourth rDzogs-[chen]-sprul-[sku] Mi-'gyur-nam-mkha'i-rdo-rje, a Buddha who had come in person, through his insight of primordial gnosis praised the greatness of the good qualities of this excellent being and ordered him to stay in this place and introduce the traditions of teaching and practice. [gZhan-phan-pa] upheld, as [he was told to], the enlightened activities of [giving] various expositions of sūtras, tantras and śāstras, [conferring] the text transmissions of the precious *bKa' 'gyur*, [introducing] the practice of the three basic [precepts]²⁹⁸ of the Vinaya and printing [the texts of] the attainment rituals of the [*rNying ma*] *bka' ma*,²⁹⁹ etc., and in this way, there was a great revival of the Ancient Doctrine.

²⁹⁴ The recent edition of his *Collected Works* was published by 'Brug-gzhung-dpe-mdzod, Thimphu, 1984.

²⁹⁵ '*Dul ba tshig le'ur byas pa* (T 4123).

²⁹⁶ He was the founder of the famous Śrī sīṃha (*Shrī seng*) College at rDzogs-chen monastery where the greatest rNying-ma scholars of the nineteenth century studied.

²⁹⁷ The rDzogs-chen monastery at Ru-dam, one of the six "mother monasteries" of the rNying-ma tradition, was founded by Padma-rig-'dzin (1625-97) in 1685.

²⁹⁸ The three basic precepts (*gzhi gsum; trayavastu*) are: 1) a bimonthly confession ceremony (*gso sbyong; poṣadha*), 2) raining-season retreat (*dbyar gnas; vārṣika*) and 3) removal of the restrictions of the summer retreat (*dgag dbye; pravāraṇā*).

²⁹⁹ The *rNying ma bka' ma* is the collection of the teachings which originated from Samantabhadra and is considered as the "long" lineage of transmitted precepts. It consists of three sections: the Illusionary section (*sgyu*) of Mahāyoga, the Sūtra section (*mdo*) of Anuyoga and the Mind section (*sems*) of Atiyoga. gZhan-phan-pa is said to have published about ten volumes of rituals of the *Sūtra that Gathers All* (*Kun 'dus mdo*) and of the *Magical Net* (*sGyu 'phrul drwa ba*) etc. (see the NSTB Vol. 1, p. 737). An edition of this (?) collection in fourteen volumes was printed in Gangtok, India, in 1969-1970.

Nowadays, by virtue of the enlightened mind and the aspirations of this most supreme being, various traditions which apply themselves to studies of texts such as the *[Five] Works of Maitreya* (*Byams chos [sde lnga] / Pañcamaitreyagrantha*) and the *One-Thousand-[Versed] Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* ('*bum*) are established. Also the practice of the three basic [precepts] of the Vinaya have spread naturally into the monasteries of the [various] trends of the rNying-[ma tradition] and of the other tenet systems here in mDo-khams in which [the practice of] summer retreat etc. have not been carried out previously, and a stream of transmissions of the whole *bKa' 'gyur* have filled the earth, spreading further and further.

If this [person] who was endowed with the perfect good qualities of learnedness, morality and kindness and with a high degree of enlightened mind, on account of which the traditions of teaching and practice—the traditions of the early translations—were revived from the foundation, would have lived a full life span, the influence of the Doctrine would have undoubtedly spread as a lake in summer. Nonetheless, such [fortune] could not be borne by the merits of the living beings, [for they were insufficient]. Foreseeing that if this master would become a yogi, he would complete [his] full life span, and that [this] would be of benefit to the enlightened activities of the Mantra[yāna], some noble beings requested [him to do so], but he did not listen [to them] and said, "If, not having given up this existence (*rten*) [as a monk] which [involves] following the ascetic manners of the Supreme Teacher, I die, I will not have any regret as far as my own benefit is concerned. As for the benefit of others, that is the continuation of these activities for the Doctrine (*bstan pa'i bya ba*) by all means, and this will be achieved by untiring effort and aspiration."

On the very evening of his death, having asked the Tathāgata for permission, he untied his belt [for the first time], and being mindful and aware (*dran bzhin shes bzhin*), he fell asleep. Thus, it is said that [he] has never loosened his belt and that [he] had no [bad] manners whatsoever, not even the slightest fault—[that is, anything] which is not in accordance with the Vinaya—and [none of] the [bad] habits of leaning, laying down, propping up, etc.

The [story concerning] how the manuals first (*sngar*) came [into his hands] and the remaining stories were told [by gZhan-phan-pa himself] in a private talk to the "spiritual friend" Padma-bzang-po, who was a permanent attendant to this master at the end of his life, and apart from [this], no other [details] are known. However, I wrote [it] here as I personally heard from that Lama without mixing in even the slightest bit of exaggeration.

As for his direct students, this great being raised many [other] great beings such as dPal-sprul Rin-po-che 'Jigs-med-chos-kyi-dbang-po and the great preceptor Padma-badzra,³⁰⁰ and a great many "spiritual friends", scholars who were pure as gold in respect to the three trainings.

The Compilation of *Rong-zom's Collected Writings*

Having discussed these secondary issues, I [come now] to the [main] topic of this essay.

The venerable gZhan-phan-pa himself searched all over dBus and gTsang by means of various efforts for the excellent writings of Rong-zom Paṇḍita who has no equal in this Land of Snow, and brought those he had found, which amounted to two volumes, into print.

At that time, [the printing work of] the *Guhyagarbha Commentary* was accomplished with the help of Gling Tulku, a great holder of the [three] *Piṭakas*, a strict monk (*sdom brtson*) who was a direct disciple of this master, and the remaining [texts] were brought into print by rGyal-sras-gzhan-phan-pa himself.

Due to the inferior merit (*bsod nams*)³⁰¹ of the Doctrine in general and of the living beings in particular [at this] time of degeneration, rGyal-sras-gzhan-phan-pa passed away, and most of the print blocks that remained unfinished—

³⁰⁰ mKhan-po Padma-rdo-rje, who was also one of Mi-pham's teachers, was very much concerned that the Ris-med movement might be destructive for the rNying-ma tradition and therefore was a great advocate of the "pure" rNying-ma teachings. His collected writings were printed in rDzogs-chen monastery in one or two volumes (see G. Smith 1969b, p. 6).

³⁰¹ The *bsod nams* is the impelling force for the continuation of the Dharma resulting from the good deeds of living being.

[with] the labels not arranged, the abrupt interruptions (?) (*nag thum bcad pa*) and the proofreading corrections, etc. unfinished—remained in that state.

Thereafter, the supreme gZhan-phan-pa's reincarnation gZhan-phan-chos-kyi-s nang-ba³⁰² himself wished to make the corrections of the print blocks etc. [already] at a young age, but due to the circumstances he did not complete them right away. And later, since he applied himself to Ritual Approach and Evocation by [staying] in a strict retreat for many years, they remained like that for the time being.

Also I, Mi-pham, have long since had the wish to bring the editorial work of these great treatises [which was done] previously to completion, and though I was requested [to do so] by some other [persons], nothing was done [then], since I was incapable due to an illness.³⁰³ Nonetheless, in the summer of the wood-dragon year of the fifteenth cycle (1904), I had a talk with the venerable Tulku [gZhan-phan-chos-kyi-s nang-ba] by virtue of the compassion of the Triple Gem and the good aspiration of the noble beings of the past. Right after [our talk] he too [said], along with words of approval and gifts [expressing his] delight: "If you accomplish [this] as [I] have had in mind since long, [it] will be good."³⁰⁴ And searching among the texts of the previous venerable one, he found volumes of manuscript originals for [preparing] the printed edition and gave them [to me].

As a result of comparing the texts and carefully examining the words and meanings, the original copies were quite correct. Therefore, I made corrections to the extent that grave textual mistakes which [may lead to] serious misunderstanding no [longer] are to be seen, excepting only minor mistakes—such as slight corruptions of letters, some passages where I presume slight omissions had occurred, dislocations of the inserting points for text annotations, and, because the mantras were not precisely compared with their respective tantras, [also mistakes regarding] the length of vowels [in mantras].

³⁰² See the introduction, note 62.

³⁰³ Mi-pham's health was generally very poor, and he often fell sick. He saw his poor health as the last remains of his *karma* and he believed that in the future he would not have to experience such obscurations at all (see Kun-bzang-dpal-ldan, p. 40: *da res kyi rten 'dir na zug cher byung ba 'di las kyi lhag ma yin/ da phan chad las sgrib gtan myong mi dgos/*).

³⁰⁴ Mi-pham uses here a mixed form of direct and indirect speech using the word "you" (*khyad*) in regard to himself and the word *tshul*, an indirect speech indicator, at the end of the sentence.

And I think that henceforth this [editorial work] I completed in the very year of printing will be of some service to the Doctrine.

Nowadays, due to the poor discriminative awareness of the people on account of the [degenerate] times, these texts which are [pure] as melted gold and which exist in large number—[namely], the transmitted precepts of the Early Translation [School] (*snga 'gyur gyi bka'*), [their] profound commentaries and the immaculate old treasures—are considered as insignificant, and most of the yogis in the villages pretend to be "treasure discoverers", though no credible spiritual careers as scholars and accomplished masters are to be seen [on their part]. There are a great number of books of "adventitious doctrines" (*rdol-chos*)³⁰⁵ in which I did not see any profound words and meanings or any marvellous essential points of the esoteric instructions. The followers of such obscured intoning scriptures which indicate no evidence of attainments [on the part of their authors] admire [them] by calling them "the doctrines of our noble fathers", and [there are] also others [who] call them "the timely profound doctrines". On account of such [attitudes] the benefit of the old doctrines of the past for living beings is very much obscured, and in such times when the difficulty to differentiate between real and fake treasures grows, there are indeed [only] few people who require such great excellent expositions. Yet even if one internalizes the meaning of only one *śloka* of these texts, it is a benefit with no equal, and therefore the previous venerable [gZhan-phan-pa] searched for treatises which contain such profound essential points and brought them into print. Having understood that this was an incomparable kindness out of love for us, [his] followers, it is obvious that [we] need to read and investigate them to the best of our abilities.

The Controversy about Rong-zom-pa's Stance Regarding the Existence of Primordial Gnosis on the Stage of Buddhahood

There were many scholars and accomplished masters among the upholders of the tradition of the early translations; however, the most excellent among

³⁰⁵ Cf. the introduction, p. 8.

all—the two all-knowing Rong-[zom-pa] and Klong-[chen-pa]—are, as widely famed as the sun and moon. Most of the Tibetan [scholars] of earlier generations, based on a mere general approximation of Rong-zom-pa's writings, argued that this master completely denied [the existence of] primordial gnosis on [the stage of] Buddha[hood], saying, "Those who do not maintain [the existence of] primordial gnosis on [the stage of] Buddha[hood] are Ācārya Candrakīrti in India and Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po in Tibet."³⁰⁶ Those [scholars] did not fathom the full depth of the intended meaning [of the writings] of this great being, and that is because [of the fact that] in India, those who maintained the existence of primordial gnosis on the stage of Buddha[hood] were the majority, and those who did not maintain [it] seem to have proved [their assumptions]—Ācārya *Madhyamaka-Simha³⁰⁷ and others through logic and the great Lord [Atīśa] through the authoritative scriptures. Nonetheless, each of the two [positions] has an essential point which is [thereby] intended.

These statements in which Rong-zom-pa negates the ultimate non-conceptualizing primordial gnosis through logic are purely negations of the primordial gnosis arisen from another (*gzhan byung ye shes*). The primordial gnosis arisen from another is a conditional phenomena which arises from a cause and is, [according to] the assertion of the Common Vehicle, confined to the single mind of a person from [the path of] learning (*slob lam*) right through until [the path of] no more learning (*mi slob lam*).³⁰⁸ By this demonstration of a sound argumentation refuting [this assertion], [Rong-zom-pa] maintains that the primordial gnosis of a Buddha is self-arisen, unconditional, the very primordial gnosis that abides at the foundation [level in a state of] ultimate purity, that is, the sphere [of reality] free of obscuration. And thus [he] maintains that [the Buddha] does not possess any primordial gnosis which is confined to the mental continuum of a person and is a conditional entity. Yet this master [could] not have maintained that primordial gnosis does not exist at

³⁰⁶ Lo-chen Dharma-shrī (pp. 490-491) and sNgags-'chang bSam-grub-rdo-rje (p. 711), though expressing a similar idea, indicate Nāgārjuna, and not Candrakīrti, as the Indian scholar who maintains the non-existence of primordial gnosis at the stage of Buddhahood. See also note 328.

³⁰⁷ On *Madhyamaka-Simha, see Ruegg, p. 116.

³⁰⁸ See my explanation of the term *gzhan byung ye shes* in the introduction.

all [on the stage of Buddhahood], for [he] established the textual [tradition] of the Great Perfection [which says that] "self-arisen primordial gnosis", the "primordially luminously radiant sphere of reality" (*gdod nas 'od gsal ba'i chos kyi dbyings*),³⁰⁹ the "Mind of Enlightenment" and "Samantabhadra", though [they] are different names, are identical in nature and do primordially exist at the foundation [level] by the nature of reality (*chos nyid kyi ngo bos*), and therefore, since there are no transformations regarding the unconditional primordial gnosis at any [of the three] levels (*skabs*)—foundation, path and fruit—how could one say that it does exist on the path of learning and does not at the time of [the path of] no more learning?

The *Great Stage of Buddha[hoo]d* (*Sangs rgyas kyi sa chen mo*),³¹⁰ a work of the Master Rong-zom himself, states (211a₃-211a₅):

Furthermore, since all links [between one existence to another caused by] propensities (*bag chags kyi mtshams sbyor*) are entirely exhausted, [the primordial gnosis] arises also by virtue of the entirely pure sphere of reality, just as a reflection arises by virtue of a pure field and a substance.³¹¹

and (based on 211a₁-211a₅):

These two—accumulation [of merits and primordial gnosis] and aspiration [on one hand] and the sphere of reality which is pure of all

³⁰⁹ Germano translates the term *'od gsal* as radiant light, when used as a noun, and as luminously radiant, when used as an adjective. Radiant light, he says, is "the core of our own psyche", that is, the real nature of the mind, and when used as part of the expression "the adamant nucleus of radiant light" (*'od gsal rdo rje snying po*), which "signifies the ultimate reality of the Universe as the "enlightened nucleus" within," it "is generally associated with the Ground's spontaneous presence, which gives rise to the luminously radiant dynamic qualities of the Spiritual Bodies and primordial gnoses" (see Germano Vol. 2, p. 925). The term *'od gsal ba* here seems to have the latter meaning.

³¹⁰ RZSB Vol. 2, fols. 203-221. The passages given here by Mi-pham are not always exact citations of *Sangs sa*; some of the passages have been abbreviated by Mi-pham and some are not citations but rather a reflection of the main idea as presented in the respective passages in *Sangs sa*. One "citation" even consists of two parts of different passages put together. However, I have translated the passages as they have been given here by Mi-pham, and when differences occur, I include the exact version of *Sangs sa* in the respective footnote.

³¹¹ Apart from slight differences—the *dKar chag's* version reads *ma lus pa* two times instead of *ma lus par* in *Sangs sa*—this passage is an exact citation. See also the following citation.

adventitious afflictions [on the other hand]—are dominant conditions³¹²
(*bdag rkyen*).³¹³

and:

The stage of Buddha[hood] is solely the very pure sphere [of reality].³¹⁴

and (212b₄ and 217b₆-218a₁):

The sphere of reality too becomes, by virtue of its thorough purity, a condition for the appearance [of the primordial gnosis] to others, and therefore, it is not obscured regarding [that] one aspect [of the primordial gnosis, namely, the quantitative knowledge] either, and the very thorough purity which is free of manifoldness is omniscience itself.³¹⁵

And it teaches that all [phenomena arise] by virtue of the thoroughly pure sphere of reality and aspiration. Or, the Form-Bodies appear by virtue of those [two factors] and of the great [self-arisen] primordial gnosis in addition, just as a reflection [appears] in a mirror.³¹⁶

³¹² Dominant condition (*bdag rkyen*) is one of the four conditions (*rkyen bzhi*). Rigzin translates it as "fundamental condition" and defines it as "something which is the main producer of a result but does not actually transform into a substantial continuity with it; e.g. the eye sense power that generates eye consciousness." Mi-pham, in his *mKhas 'jug* (pp. 409 and 415), explains *bdag rkyen* as "active cause" (*byed rgyu*).

³¹³ This passage is rather a summary than a citation and covers the previous citation too. *Sang sa* reads: *de la yon tan rgya mtsho 'byung ba'i rgyen ni rnam pa gnyis te/ dang po rigs dang bshes gnyen gyi stobs kyi sems bskyed pa nas bzung ste/ mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas kyi bar du/ dge ba'i rtsa ba tshad med pa bsags shing/ yongs su ma chad pa'i snying rje chen po bskyed pa dang/ yongs su ma chad pa'i smon lam chen po lhun gyis grub pa'i shugs las/ gdul bya'i rgyud la rang dang 'tshams pa'i yon tan snang bar 'gyur ro// gzhan yang bag chags kyi mtshams sbyor ba ma lus par yongs su zad pas chos kyi dbyings ma lus par yongs su dag par gyur pa'i dbang las kyang 'byung ste/ rdzas dang zhing dag pa'i dbang las gzugs brnyan 'byung ba lta bu'o// 'di gnyis ni bdag po'i rkyen yin no//*

³¹⁴ This sentence as such is not found in *Sangs sa*. It reflects the first view introduced by Rong-zom-pa (fol. 205b₂: *gang zag kha cig na re/ sangs rgyas pa'i chos ni/ chos kyi dbyings rnam par dag pa tsam ste/*) which is also the view-point he presents in the debate. This sentence occurs therefore numerous time in different variations throughout the text.

³¹⁵ This passage as given by Mi-pham is a combination of two different passages in *Sangs sa* which occur on fols. 212b₄ and 217b₆-218a₁. Except for variations in punctuation, each of these parts is an exact citation of the respective passage.

³¹⁶ This passage is based on the the passage in *Sangs sa*, fol. 220a₆-220b₄; the text reads: *thams cad kyang chos kyi dbyings rnam par dag pa dang/ smon lam gyi dbang ngam/ yang na de dag gi steng du ye shes chen po'i dbang las kyang de lta bu dag snang ste/ des na dper na me long gi gzugs brnyan me long dag pa'i dbang dang/ bzhin gyi rgyu las snang yang/ me long las ma 'das pas/ me long gi chos su brtsi zhing gzhi me long gis bzung ba 'dra na'ang/ gzugs brnyan la rten gyi 'byung ba chen po med pas/ me long gis gzung ba ma yin no// de bzhin du sangs rgyas kyi gzugs kyi sku'ang/ chos kyi sku'i dbang las snang zhing de las 'das pa med pas/ chos kyi sku de bzhin bshad cing sangs rgyas kyi skur bgrangs*

And [it further] states (based on 218a6ff):

However, since [the stage of Buddhahood] is an inconceivable phenomenon, one should not completely negate the texts which maintain that both aspects of primordial gnosis—[that of qualitative knowledge and that of quantitative knowledge]—are manifest in the mental continuum of a Buddha. So it is maintained by [some] masters of the past, such as [Buddha]guhya and Nyi-ma'i-'od-'phro.³¹⁷

And it teaches that great contradictions [such as those included in the following statements]: "[The Buddhas'] mental continuums of primordial gnosis have sensations," "[the Buddhas] possess an arisen form," "[they] do not indulge in women," "[they] have the bliss of indulging in women," and so forth, must be completely refuted, if [one assert that these attributes] are not mere appearance for [the sake of] the disciples, [but] do really exist in the mental continuum of the Buddha.³¹⁸

And it says [further] (218a₃):

Since the primordial gnosis of the Buddha is inconceivable, [we] do not exercise a straightforward negation (*spong*) of those [assertions].³¹⁹

kyang/ chos kyi sku la bdag tu lta ba'i gnas med pas gzugs kyi sku la rten pa'i phyir/ ye shes kyi rgyud kyis gzugs kyi sku bzung bar smrar mi rung ngo//.

³¹⁷ The last part of this passage was changed by Mi-pham; instead of *sngon gyi slob dpon gsang ba dang/ nyi ma'i 'od 'phro la sogs pas 'di ltar bzhed/* in the *dKar chag's* version the respective passage in *Sangs sa* reads (218b₁): *sngon gyi slob dpon sangs rgyas gsang ba dang/ nyi ma'i 'od 'phro ba la stsogs pas kyang/ 'di lta bu dag la rnam par dbye ba yang mdzad nas/ yod 'di lta bu ni bdag cag lta bu'i spyod yul ma yin pas/ 'di dag ni gzhang par bya'o/ zhes gsungs pa bzhin du gang zag gzhan gyis kyang rang gi blo la ji ltar rig pa tsam gzhang par bya'i/ nges par khas blang bar mi bya'o//*.

³¹⁸ This passage is an abbreviated version of the passage in *Sangs sa*, fol. 218b₃-219a₃; the text reads: *shin tu 'gal ba che ba rnams ni sun dbyung bar bya ste/ 'di ltar de bzhin gshegs pa rnams ye shes kyi rgyud kyis bzung zhang/ gnas su byin gyis brlabs/ gzugs kyi sku mnga'o// zhes 'dod pa dang// sku de la yang tshor ba bde ba mnga'o// zhes 'dod pa dang/ sku de'ang skyes pa'i gzugs can no// zhes 'dod pa dang/ gzhan yang bud med la longs mi spyod do// zhes 'dod pa dang/ bud med la longs spyod de 'di ltar rtag tu bde ba mi 'gyur ba dang ldan te/ thugs rje chen po la stsogs pa yan lag drug la stsogs pa'i chos 'di dag 'dod pa ni gdul bya la snang ba ma gtogs par sangs rgyas nyid kyi rgyud la nges par mnga' bar 'dod na/ gdon mi za bar sun dbyung bar bya ste/*.

³¹⁹ This too is not an exact citation; *Sangs sa* reads: *sangs rgyas rnams kyi chos bsam gyis mi khyab pa yin pa'i phyir/ 'di dag spong ba'i gzu bo mi byed kyis/*.

And having shown the contradictions in the assertions that the primordial gnosis [confined to a single] mental continuum is real and possesses marks (*mtshan ma*) it says (218a₄):

As far as examination by logic is concerned, I see no point in arrogant disputations in regard to this most supreme [phenomenon].

One should understand [this issue] through these teachings, and that is due to the fact that though it is evident that the great Rong-zom-pa did actually maintain that the sphere of reality is beyond manifoldness, [he] has never taught that only the emptiness of a non-affirming negation is definite, and so it came to this essential point [as referred to in the above], and [it] is established through the undeniable evident use of various types of logic [in] all the writings of this mighty scholar in order to establish only the mode of abiding which is the inseparability of the two truths.

If [Rong-zom-pa] one-sidedly maintained that the sphere were a [mere] non-existence, which [would mean that it] is not united [with the primordial gnosis],³²⁰ the arising of various appearances at the time of the foundation would be then impossible; at the time of establishing the path, freedom-from-manifoldness would not be possible either, for [it] would not be free of the manifoldness of non-existence (*med pa'i spros pa*); and if, at the time of the fruit, the mental flow ceases in the sphere (*ngang du*)³²¹ [as determined by a definition of the sphere through] non-affirming negations alone, how could there be a cause for the arising of omniscience, compassion and the sphere of reality endowed with the two purities.³²² They would [then not exist, just] like a rabbit's horn does not exist. Therefore, those who, not having understood the meaning of the sphere of reality being free of manifoldness, and who take the sphere of reality to be [defined then] merely [through] a non-affirming negation, think that this tradition of Rong-zom-pa entirely negates [the existence of] the primordial gnosis on [the stage of] Buddha[hood], and thus,

³²⁰ This "union" of the primordial gnosis and the sphere of reality expresses the union of the appearances and emptiness (*snang stong zung 'jug*).

³²¹ It seems to me that the word *ngang du* should be understood here as *klong du*.

³²² The two purities (*dag pa gnyis*) are: the natural thorough purity (*rang bzhin gyis nam par dag pa*) and the purity of adventitious afflictions (*blo bur dri mas dag pa*).

do nothing but stain the taintless tradition of a great being [with] the impurities of their own mind.

In brief, this sphere of reality, the enlightened mind which is the union of awareness and emptiness [already at] the foundation, is free of changes and transformations, and when the ultimate truth of cessation, [that is], the sphere of reality endowed with the two purities, is revealed, the existence of primordial gnosis of qualitative knowledge as a subject different from the sphere of reality, and the existence of a primordial gnosis [confined to a single] mental continuum which is a subject that perceives the various manifoldness [can]not be proved by the logic of an ultimate analysis, as Nāgārjuna says.³²³

What can be expressed ceases
When the sphere of the mind ceases.
For reality, like nirvāṇa,
Has not arisen, has not perished.

Now, if one has to establish that [all phenomena], though [they] appear as dual, object-subject etc., do not exist in this way, but abide in the nature of the sphere of reality alone even at the foundation [level], while [one is still an ordinary] sentient being, how much more so on the stage of Buddhahood in which all corruptions of adventitious propensities are exhausted! Therefore, it is a proof that the sphere of reality itself, being nothing but the manifestation of the foundation as-is, possesses no primordial gnosis [confined to a single] mental continuum which depends on other [factors], and thus, the thoroughly pure sphere of reality itself is the actual entity (*dnegos gzhi*) of all primordial gnoses: the Buddhas, not having deviated from the [sphere of reality], know qualitatively, and still not deviating, they spontaneously and effortlessly know, without conceptualizing, all objects of knowledge comprised by the sphere of reality, that is, knowing quantitatively. Therefore in all sūtras and tantras it is referred to as the "primordial gnosis which consists in the knowledge that is

³²³ *Prajñā-nāma-mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* / *dBu ma rtsa ba'i tshig le'ur byas pa shes rab*, Chap. 18, verse 7, T 3824, the rNying-ma edition, Vol. 68, p. 6, leaf 4₂. The *dKar chag* reads *mi 'gag* and not *ma 'gags* as it is in the sDe-dge edition.

endowed with the ten powers",³²⁴ or as the "primordial gnosis which knows all aspects". Nonetheless, there is no need for a primordial gnosis [confined to a single] mental continuum which is [something] other than the [mere] revelation of the thoroughly pure sphere of reality. For that reason, the victorious Klong-chen-rab-'byams said that in regard to the appearanceless meditative equipoise (*mnyam bzhag snang med*)³²⁵ which is the complete disappearance of obscurations, which possess propensities that are stained by the subject-object dichotomy, in the inner sphere (*nang dbyings*),³²⁶ the core of the great primordial purity (*ka dag chen po'i sbubs*), and in regard to the explanations in the texts of the Great Perfection that all dual phenomena, such as the Buddha-Body (*sku*) and primordial gnosis, do not exist, also Lama Rong-pa stressed establishing the non-existence of manifoldness in the ultimate stage through logic.

Most of the Tibetan teachers maintain that the Buddha has only a thoroughly pure non-dual primordial gnosis, and that a quantitative primordial gnosis which perceives impure sentient beings, etc., does not exist in the Buddha's self-presencing (*rang snang*). However, the great Rong-zom-pa place [the question regarding the existence of] the qualitative, or rather, the non-conceptualizing primordial gnosis besides the sole thoroughly pure sphere of reality on the same footing with your assertion of the non-existence of the pure mundane primordial gnosis (*dag pa 'jig rten pa'i ye shes*), so that, if the two—the qualitative and the quantitative primordial gnoses—exist on the stage of

³²⁴ For a detailed list of the "ten powers" (*yon tan stobs bcu; daśatathāgatabala*) see, the NSTB Vol. 2, p. 167.

³²⁵ Klong-chen-pa describes meditative equipoise (*mnyam bzhag*) as follows (*Grub mtha' mdzod*, p. 123,ff.): "Those who hold the view of the definite meaning [taught] by Nāgārjuna, such as [his] supreme disciple Candrakīrti, maintain in this way: In the meditative equipoise of those who achieved a stage (*bhūmi*) and in the stage of Buddha[hood], there exists no appearance of any object of knowledge as dual, that is, object and subject like the object of knowledge and the knower, and therefore the engagement of the subject, that is, the primordial gnosis, is too pacified, and at that time all the engagements of the [principal] minds and the mental factors cease..." etc. (*slob dpon klu sgrub kyis nges pa don gyi lta ba 'dzin pa'i slob ma'i m chog zla ba grags pa la sogs pa rnam ni 'di ltar 'dod de/ sa thob pa'i mnyam bzhag dang sangs rgyas kyi sa na shes bya dang shes byed la sogs pa'i yul dang yul can gyi shes bya gzung 'dzin du snang ba gang yang ma grub pas/ yul can ye shes kyi 'jug pa'ang zhi ba ste/ de'i tshe sems dang sems las byung ba'i 'jug pa thams cad rgyun chad de...*).

³²⁶ According to Klong-chen-pa (see Germano Vol. 1, pp. 109-110), the term "inner sphere" or "expanse", also called "pure expanse lamp", refers to the internal aspect of the sphere in contrast to the "outer sphere" (*phyi dbyings*) which is also called the "empty sky". Germano explains "internal" as "being 'within' that external expanse, i.e. its enfolded potential".

Buddha[hood], [they should] exist equally, and if [they] do not exist, [they should] equally not exist. Therefore, though the stage of Buddha[hood] exists as the thoroughly pure sphere of reality alone, if one divides the sphere of reality itself into its different aspects, it is possible to acquire also the two primordial gnoses—the qualitative and the quantitative—, since all phenomena do not differ even slightly from the sphere of reality.

For that reason Jinendra Padmasambhava said in his *Stages of the Path of the Mantra[yāna]* (*gSang sngags lam rim*, p. 55) [that there are three ways of explaining the activities of the Buddhas] for the benefit of others: having a support, not having a support and naturally.³²⁷ The adherents of the Mind-Only [doctrine] and others maintain that on the stage of Buddha[hood] the support for the appearances [of the Buddhas] for the benefit of others is the primordial gnosis [confined to a single] mental continuum. The Madhyamikas [maintain that] even though there is no such support, [the Buddhas] appear for the sake of others by virtue of aspirations. And not falling into those two extremes, the view of the tantras [of the] Mantra[yāna] such as the Great Perfection [tantras] is that the [Buddhas] act for the benefit of others naturally and effortlessly [by virtue of the] blessing of the inconceivable thoroughly pure reality.³²⁸

³²⁷ In his auto-commentary to the *gSang sngags lam rim*, his '*Grel pa rin chen phreng ba*, he says (p. 159-160₃): "First, acting for the benefit of others with a support: relying on the non-dual primordial gnosis, the Buddha-Body of Reality, which [serves as] a base, [the Buddhas] act, appearing as the Body of Perfect Rapture to the pure trainees and as the Emanation Body to the impure trainees. [This is] the tradition [which maintains] the existence of primordial gnosis. Second, acting without support: Although the Buddhas do not possess primordial gnosis which is confined to the mental continuum, [they] act for the benefit [of others], appearing as the two Form-Bodies in the mental perception of the trainees. [This is] the tradition [which maintains] the non-existence of primordial gnosis. Third, acting naturally: It is not at all the natural disposition of the real nature of all phenomena, and therefore, [they] act, the radiance shining without ceasing at all. [This is] the tradition [which maintains] neither of the two [assertions mentioned above]. (*dang po/ rten can gyis don byed pa ni/ gzhi chos sku gnyis su med pa'i ye shes la brten nas gdul bya dag pa la longs sku/ ma dag pa la sprul sku mdzad de ye shes yod pa'i lugs so// gnyis pa rten med kyis mdzad pa ni/ sangs rgyas la rang rgyud kyis bsdu pa'i ye shes med mod kyang gdul bya'i blo snang du gzugs sku gnyis su snang nas don mdzad pa ste/ ye shes med pa'i lugs so// gsum pa ngo bo nyid kyis mdzad pa ni/ chos thams cad kyi chos nyid gshis cir yang ma yin pa las/ rtsal cir yang ma 'gags pa shar nas mdzad pa ste/ gnyis med kyi lugs so//*).

³²⁸ It seems that Mi-pham relies here on Klong-chen-pa's *Grub miha' mdzod* when he explains the different views regarding the way primordial gnosis knows (or perceives) the objects of knowledge (*ye shes de'i shes bya mkhyen pa'i tshul*) (pp. 244-255). Klong-chen-pa presents there three wrong views: 1) that of some Madhyamikas who maintain that since primordial gnosis does not exist on the stage of Buddhahood, the knowing of objects of knowledge through the primordial gnosis does not exist either, 2) that of some adherent of the Mind-Only [doctrine] who maintain that the primordial gnosis of the Buddha does not know external phenomena, and 3) that of some Vāstāvādins who maintain that deceptive phenomena really appear to the primordial gnosis of the Buddha. Having presented the wrong

The *Guhyagarbha-tantra* says (p. 47₁₋₂): "Through the connection with the great compassion, [the Buddhas] appear to the six kinds of living beings everywhere."³²⁹ And in the tantras of the Great Perfection it is called "primordial gnosis of all-pervading compassion". In accordance with that, the great Rong-zom-pa [says] that though there is no support, [the Buddhas] appear in various [forms] such as pure and impure lands, and with various sizes and colours of the Body according to the way [they] have been generated by virtue of aspiration. And yet, a support which is confined to the self continuum is proved to be a non-self-characterized phenomenon (*rang mtshan med*). Nonetheless, since it is proved that [the Buddhas] act for the benefit of others through the blessing of the Essential-Body (*ngo bo nyid sku*), the thoroughly pure sphere of reality, ultimately, [they] act for the benefit of others naturally.³³⁰ [This explanation] is the culminating point (*la bzla ba*) in the view of the tantras [of the] Mantra[yāna].

Though [I] could have greatly elaborated [this point], [I] have explained [it only] briefly. [Yet] I could not help saying [at least] this much, and that is in order to remove the doubts which [resulted from] the great fear and lack of devotion [that arose] when those who did not come closer to the meaning of the ultimate truth and who grasp the sphere of reality as mere emptiness (*stong rkyang*) study the profound and difficult writings of this great being. If one understands the non-existence of both knowledges in the ultimate [stage of] Buddha[hood] as definite, the "knowledge of all aspects" (*rnam pa thams cad mkhyen pa*) would be as [unreal as] a rabbit's horn, and it would be a false deprecation of the supreme of [all] fruits. If there would be no qualitative knowledge, there would not be a Buddha who shows the correct path to the disciples. If the [Buddha] would not exist, it would be impossible for the

views, he then explains the correct view from the perspective of self-presencing (*rang snang*) and other-presencing (*gzhan snang*). sNgags-'chang bSam-grub-rdo-rje (p. 711-712) indicates the Indian Master Śīrīhabhadra (Seng-ge-bzang-po) and the Tibetan Zhang Shes-rab-bla-ma, etc. as the those who maintain that there is a support; the Indian great Master Nāgārjuna and the Tibetan Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po, etc. as those who maintain that there is no support; and the Indian great scholar Śrī Śīrīha (Shrī-sing-ha) and the Tibetan Zur-chung Shes-rab-grags-pa, etc. as those who maintain that the Buddhas act naturally like a wish-fulfilling gem.

³²⁹ The text reads '*gro drug kun gnas* instead of '*gro drug dus gnas* in the basic text.

³³⁰ Mi-pham relies here on Rong-zom-pa's discussion in his *Sangs rgyas sa chen mo* (fols. 210b₂-212b₂) on whether there is need for a support (*rten*) such as primordial gnosis in order for the Buddhas to appear.

Doctrine and the religious community as well to exist, and therefore it would contravene with the path and fruit of the Great Vehicle. For that reason, those who established the meaning of the inconceivable sphere of reality being free of manifoldness, revealed the reality of the Tathāgata, the Body of Primordial Gnosis (*ye shes kyi sku*), through the faculty of discriminative awareness.

Lord Nāgārjuna says.³³¹

Those struck by manifoldness,
Who make manifold the Tathāgata,
Who is beyond [all] manifoldness and non-perishing,
Do not see the Tathāgata.

And the [*Diamond*] *Sūtra* says.³³²

Whoever sees me as substance ... etc.

As for establishing the nature of the Tathāgata according to the meaning of such authoritative scriptures, there is no equal to the writing of the great Rong-zom-pa. Therefore one should know that the two all-knowing—Rong-[zom-pa] and Klong-[chen-pa]—are inseparable [in regard to their] ultimate view which is similar to the view of the Great Perfection, the king of all Vehicles.

³³¹ *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* / *dBu ma rtsa ba'i shes rab*, Chap. 22, verse 15; T 3824, Vol. 68, p. 8, leaf 13⁴. The version in the *dKar chag* is slightly different from the version of the sDe-dge edition which reads: *gang dag sangs rgyas spros 'das shing// zad pa med la spros bya dang// spros pas nyams pa de kun gyis// de bzhin gshegs pa mthong mi 'gyur//*.

³³² *'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdo rje gcod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* / *Vajracchedikā-nāma-prajñāpāramitā-mahāyāna-sūtra*, T 16, rNying-ma edition Vol. 12, p. 362, leaf 47. Cf. also Conze's translation, p. 89 (Sanskrit: p. 56).

So, after I had discussed a little [this] important secondary issue, I come now to the actual catalogue, a list of the texts contained [in this collected writings of Rong-zom-pa].

At first, Volume "A":

- [1] A commentary of *The Glorious Guhyagarbha-[tantra]* (*dPal gsang ba-snying po*) known as the *Precious Jewel Commentary* (*dKon mchog 'grel*); 240 fols.

It would be good if the blocks were labeled and arranged together [with Rong-zom-pa's other works]. At this time, however, since the blocks of the *Guhya[garbha-tantra] Commentary* (*gSang 'grel*) are kept separately, they were not placed together with [the other blocks] due to the fact that the text was owned [by others] (*dpe bdag pa'i stabs kas*), and detailed corrections could not be done either. Nevertheless, since from an early time the originals were printed editions, I suppose that the text may be fairly correct. Yet it would be best if the print workers would make the two volumes complete. Though the *Intermediate Outlining Commentary* (*Khog 'bub 'bring po*)³³⁴ of the tantra also was carved together with the *Guhyagarbha Commentary*, I did not see it while labeling [the blocks], and therefore, I did not include it in the catalogue. One should, however, place it before the commentary of the tantra.

- [2] *A Short Outlining Commentary* (*Khog dbub chung ngu*) of the *[Guhyagarbha]-tantra*; 1 fol.

- [3] A general commentary of *The Litany of the Names of Mañjuśrī* (*'Jam dpal mtshan brjod*); 35 fols.

³³³ Here I shall be giving only a translation of the titles listed along with Mi-pham's remarks. Detailed information regarding these works is to be found in the *Descriptive Catalogue*.

³³⁴ About the term, or rather the genre, *khog 'bub*, see introduction, p. 16.

[4] The root text of *Garland of Views* (*Man ngag lta phreng*), composed by Ācārya Padma[sambhava]; 8 fols.

[5] Its commentary, composed by the great Rong-zom-pa; 55 fols.

Since these blocks were carved according to the former old texts, I did not correct the unabridged suffixes 'a and *da-drag*, the vowel-sign *i* written the other way around, etc., and left it the way it is as a wonderful curiosity.

[6] *The Mandala Ritual of Yamāntaka, the Wrathful [Form] of Mañjuśrī, Who Discriminate the Adamantine Meaning of the Mantras* (*Sngags don rdo rje rab 'byed kyi 'jam dpal khro bo gshin rje gshed kyi dkyil chog*), written by Ācārya Līlāvajra and translated by Rong-zom-pa; 14 fols.

[7] *The Ritual of Creating the Sā-tstsha of the Four Rites of the Tradition of the Vajrasattva Illusionary Net* (*rDor sems sgyu drwa'i lugs kyi las bzhi'i sā tstsha gdab chog*), composed by Rong-zom-pa; 16 fols.

[8] *Erecting a Stupa According to the Tantras of the Deities rDo-rje-gtsug-tor and Amitāyus* (*rDo rje gtsug tor dang tshe dpag med lha rgyud kyi sgo nas mchod rten gdab pa*); 8 fols.

[9] *Register of Cremation According to the Rong Tradition* (*Rong lugs gdung bsreg gi tho yig*); 2 fols.

[10] *Manual of Meditation on the Most Supreme One* (*Che mchog gi sgom khog*); 4 fols.

[11] *The Mantras of the Middling Peaceful Deities and of the Ornamental Sublime Appearances* (*Zhi ba 'bring po dang snang ba dam pa rgyan gyi*

sngags),³³⁵ were corrected by [Rong-zom-pa] after he had come across the Sanskrit manuscript; 9 fols.

[This volume] contains all together 392 folios.

The Second Volume, "Ä":

[1] *A Treatise on Entering the Way of the Great Vehicle (Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa'i bstan bcos)*, composed by the glorious Rong-zom Mahāpaṇḍita; 148 fols.

Likewise,

[2] *The Great Establishment of [All] Appearances as Deities According to the Way of the Mantra[yāna] (gSang sngags kyi tshul gyi snang ba lhar bsgrub chen mo)*; 12 fols.

[3] *The Great Memorandum of the View (lTa ba'i brjed byang chen mo)*; 24 fols.

It continues with:

[4] *A Collection of Various Selected Writings (gSung thor bu sna tshogs phyogs bsdus)*, which makes a total of 136 folios, whereas folio No. 24 occurs twice: 24-1 and 24-2.

[a] *The Way of Establishing the Two Truths According to Each Tenet System (Grub mtha' so so'i bden gnyis kyi 'jog tshul)*

³³⁵ Is this text related to the work *De kho na nyid snang ba dam pa rgyan / Tattvāloka-paramālaṃkāra* (P 4735)?

- [b] *The Great Differentiation Between the Causal and the Resultant Vehicle* (rGyu 'bras kyi theg pa'i bye brag chen mo)
- [c] *Offering* (mChod pa)
- [d] *Liberation* (bsGral pa)³³⁶
- [e] *The Characteristics of the Path of the Mantra[yāna]* (gSang sngags lam gyi mtshan nyid)
- [f] *A Summarizing Brief Memorandum on the Similarities and Dissimilarities of the Tenet Systems of Sūtra[yāna] and Mantra[yāna]* (mDo sngags kyi grub mtha' mthun mi mthun mdor bsdus kyi bsdud byang)
- [g] *A Summarising Outline [of the Tenet Systems on the Basis of] the Black Snake Illustration* (sBrul nag po'i stong thun)³³⁷
- [h] *The Great Stage of Buddha[hood]* (Sangs rgyas kyi sa chen po)
- [i] *A Text Illuminating the General Main Elements of the Tantra* (rGyud spyi'i dngos po gsal bar byed pa'i yi ge)
- [j] *A Differentiation of [the Various] Empowerments* (dBang gi rab byed)
- [k] *A Text on the Twenty-Eight Permitting and Prohibiting Commitments* (Dam tshig nyer brgyad kyi gnang bkag gi yi ge)
- [l] *The Subdivisions of the Method of Chanting and Reciting a Mantra* (gSang sngags kyi bzlas brjod bya thabs kyi yan lag)
- [m] *A Text on Viewing the Great Self-Arisen Primordial Gnosis as the Maṇḍala of the Display of the Fruit* (Rang byung ye shes chen po 'bras bu rol pa'i dkyil 'khor du lta ba'i yi ge)
- [5] *The Root Text on Consecration* (Rab gnas rtsa ba); 2 fols.
- [6] *An Exposition on Consecration* (Rab gnas bshad sbyar); 35 fols.
- [7] *The Consecration Ritual* (Rab gnas cho ga); 26 fols.

³³⁶ In the later edition of the RZSB the two texts—*mChod pa* and *bsGrol pa*—are printed together as one text (see the *Descriptive Catalogue*).

³³⁷ On the commentarial sub-genre *stong thun*, see the introduction, p. 16.

[The texts mentioned above] were previously carved onto printing blocks [by gZhan-phan-mtha'-yas]. In addition to that:

[8] *A Memorandum Regarding the Tenet Systems (Grub mtha'i brjed byang)*

There was [an old exemplar of this work] with old orthographies such as the suffixes 'a and *da-drag* left unabridged. It was corrected according to the modern orthography and the spelling mistakes were removed. [This text] was newly brought into print by the venerable Tulku [gZhan-phan-chos-kyi-snang-ba], and [consists] 30 folios.

All together there are 390 folios in this [volume].³³⁸

If searched for by intelligent individuals, various writings of this mighty scholar, major or minor, may still possibly be found amongs the ancient texts in dBus, gTsang and other [places]. If [texts] are found, [they] should be [attached as] a continuation of this [collection of writings] without any definite order, and should be arranged in volume-numbers according to the order of the sixteen [Sanskrit] vowels. I have done this—[namely, using the first two vowels, *a* and *ā*, to mark these two volumes]—as an auspicious sign [to indicate that this collection] is yet to be continued.

Though there were a great many of words written according to the old orthography in [*Entering*] the Way [*of the Great*] Vehicle (*Theg tshul*), I corrected [only] to some extent (*ci rigs*) for the sake of ease in reading. If texts may possibly still be found [in the future], it seems [to me] that if the orthography would be corrected according to the new grammatical standards of the present tradition, they would be easier to read.

Otherwise, though there may be some words to be corrected with regard to their orthography according to texts on correct orthography, One should leave as they were those which do not harm an understanding of the sense. Even though it might aid in an easy understanding if one were to add just one or two

³³⁸ Adding the page numbers given above makes for a total of 413 pages.

grammatical particles, one should leave [the text] unchanged, just as it stands in the original exemplar.

These writings of the great Rong-zom-pa are, in [their] style of composition, similar to Indian basic texts, and [in respect to their] meaning, unrivalled by the majority of [writings], except for the great Indian basic texts. Therefore, I think that some of [his] writings may exist even in the *bsTan 'gyur* canon, without author colophons.

Any one of these writings, whether major or minor, are supreme in their force of logic and verbal power, and therefore, their meaning to be understood is incomparably [profound]. For that reason, one should cherish [these writings] and earnest investigations and examinations [regarding them] are highly desirable—thus I implore all intelligent persons. Why? Because it will be as said by the Invincible Regent [Maitreya]:³³⁹

Those who contemplate and examine the **excellent doctrine**³⁴⁰ through
logic,
Will never be hindered by Māra,
And their extraordinary attainments and [their ability in] refuting the
opponent
[Cannot be] snatched away—this is the characteristic of a complete
ripening.

Dedication

I say further:

The Generation of the Mind of Enlightenment by the sublime beings for the
benefit of others

And the texts of the excellent expositions by the scholars

³³⁹ *Sūtrālamkāra* / *mDo sde rgyan*, Chap. 9, verse 9 (T 4020, Vol. 77, p. 5, leaf 13₇ / Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang edition, p. 40₁₆).

³⁴⁰ An allusion to the name Chos-kyi-bzang-po; see the introduction, p. 21-22.

Are supreme revivers which increase the benefit of the Doctrine and the
happiness of the living beings.

Who is the intelligent one who will not become devoted to these ways?

The scholars are classified according to [their] intellectual abilities
As glowworm, butter lamp, planets and stars, moon and sun.
However, the high white parasol of [his] fame
As the [most] accomplished scholar among the learned is evidently high.

[He] was unanimously praised by all those endowed with the eye of intellect,
saying,

"[We] have never seen any other [texts] similar to
These excellent writings of Rong-zom-pa, the great roar of a lion,
Which vanquish the mass of opponents by the sword of his logic".

[You], intelligent people of the future,
Look carefully at the shimmering [caused] by the dance of the Seven Tongued-
One,³⁴¹
[That is], the sharp edge of the logic of these excellent writings,
And then [you] will see the spectacle of the marvellous Doctrine!

Reality itself, which is equanimity and freedom from manifoldness,
[That is], the sphere, which generates fear in those having poor mental
faculties,
Due to the complete severance of the entire net of clinging to true existence,
Is taught by Chos-kyi-bzang-po through the path of logic.

Therefore, may the mental darkness [in] the three worlds³⁴² be dispelled
By the blazing rays of the sun and moon, [that is] the virtuous deeds

³⁴¹ "Seven Tongued-One" (*Ice bdun; saptajihva*) is an epithet for "fire".

³⁴² The three worlds (*sa gsum; tri bhūmi*) are: 1) *sa 'og (bhūṭala)*, 2) *sa steng (mahīṭala)* and 3) *sa bla (bhamāḥ)*, translated by Rigzin as subterrestrial world, terrestrial world and celestial world, respectively. According to the *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, these are the world [of the *nāgas*] under the earth, the world [of human beings] on earth and the world [of the gods] above the earth.

Connected to these doctrinal gifts

Which manifest as numerous treasures of invaluable excellent expositions.

May the lotus garden of joy, the Doctrine of the Muni, spread greatly,

And the excellent fruit, the happiness of the nine [species] of living beings,
ripen fully.

Having been well satisfied by the nectar of the supreme Vehicle,

May all living beings attain the supreme stage of liberation.

Author Colophon

This short catalogue was completed by Mi-pham in Ru-dam-yang-dben on
the fifth day of the eighth month of the wood-dragon year (1904).

Mangalam

The supreme reincarnation of gZhan-phan-pa,

gZhan-phan-chos-kyi-s nang-ba,

Accomplished this printing [work] for the benefit of others.

May the enlightened activities for the benefit of others pervade on earth
through [this] virtuous [action].

This [verse] too was [composed] by Mi-pham.

Mangalam

**PART THREE: A DESCRIPTIVE
CATALOGUE OF *RONG-ZOM'S COLLECTED WRITINGS***

In the following pages, I present a descriptive catalogue of *Rong-zom's Collected Writings*, for which I relied on the three-volume edition of his writings printed in Shrī-seng, rDzogs-chen monastery. A few copies of this edition were brought from Tibet by Penor Rinpoche in 1993 and one of them was given to the library of the Ngagyur Nyingma Institute, Bylakuppe. While staying in the Institute, I was able to borrow this copy and photocopy it. As I was told by the assistant teacher Dorji Wangchuk, the reprint of this three-volume edition published in 1995 by the Yeshe De Project was also made from a photocopy of this same copy of the Institute which had been sent to Tarthang Tulku for the purpose of reprinting the *Collected Writings*. Since I obtained this latter edition only a few weeks before the completion of my research, I was not able, except for in a few cases, to refer to it, and therefore all references made here refer to the xylograph edition of Shrī-seng. Since both Tibetan and Western scholars will most probably have more access to the Yeshe De Project edition, it will be of benefit to add in the future this edition's references so that it will be easier to work with this descriptive catalogue and to find the locations of the desired passages in the *Collected Writings*.

The first part of the present catalogue provides a general bibliographical description of the *Collected Writings* which includes general information of the Shrī-seng edition, such as the physical description of the three volumes (e.g., number of folios, size, etc.). I also present Padma-kun-grol's xylograph colophon of the entire *Collected Writings* in Tibetan, followed by a summary in English of the important information included in the colophon under the category "special remarks".

The second and main part of this catalogue consists of a detailed description in each text of the *Collected Writings*. This includes the full and short titles of the texts, the name or names of the author as it or they appear in the colophons and a physical description of each text. Thereafter follows the incipit and the different colophons—i.e., colophons written by author, scribe or editor, or later redactor—when available. Most texts lack an author colophon and have only a very short (manuscript) colophon which was inserted later by a scribe or editor—some of these scribes or editors seem to have

been disciples of Rong-zom-pa. Some texts have a xylograph colophon written by the late redactor, Padma-kun-grol. Although I have not added here a translation of the colophons, I have included any important information from the colophons within the general description of the text. I have furthermore listed the various editions of each text and references to the text in other literature, so far as these are known to me.

Under the category "Subject Matter" in the second section, I have included a general description of the text, i.e., the general topics of the text and any other information known about the text, drawn mostly from the colophons, incipits, or from other relevant Tibetan and secondary literature. I have also made mention of important related works in Tibetan or modern languages, when available. In addition, I have listed the contents of each text except for short texts, for which the general description suffices. For this I followed several methods, including mainly:

- 1) Reading the introductory and concluding parts of each text, which often include a general topical outline of the work (especially in the case of the longer ones).
- 2) Scanning for optical signs such as punctuation (the presence of two double *shad*, bigger space between the passages, etc.) and opening words or particles usually used by Rong-zom-pa to introduce a new topic or sub-topic (*da ni*, *de la*, *yang*, etc.). This method, though not very reliable, has nevertheless proved to be helpful in many cases.
- 3) Following a subdivision indicated by numbered topics in the subject outline (*sa bcad*), when available.
- 4) Consulting relevant modern literature which could provide information on the respective text.
- 5) Reading, in few cases, the entire text.

Due to time constraints, I was not able to read all the works included in the *Collected Writings* thoroughly; I am fully aware that in the absence of a careful reading of each work and by relying on the methods mentioned above, some mistakes are inevitable. I am convinced, however, that these lists, in spite of their imperfections, can still be of great help for those who wish to study or refer to Rong-zom-pa's works. The headings given in these lists are in most cases drawn from the texts themselves. When it was necessary, i.e., when the topics given were too long, I shortened the sentences by omitting the parts which seemed less important or irrelevant for the understanding of

the topic (e.g., appositions) and marked these passages with dots. In some cases—where there were, for example, no explicit sub-titles or topics—I inserted within square brackets in Tibetan the topics which seemed appropriate. I have also inserted the headings for the opening and concluding parts, such as "Introduction", "Dedication" and "Author Colophon", in English. For easy reference, I have always indicated the first two syllables of a new paragraph beside the folio and line numbers.³⁴³ When the same syllables appear more than one time in the same line, I have marked them with an ordinal number (1st, 2nd, etc.) to indicate their position in the line. It should also be emphasized that the subdivision according to numbers was done by myself for the sake of a better understanding of the structure of the text, and does not imply the use of the *sa bcad* method by the author. Rong-zom-pa uses this method only in few cases and mostly limits it to a passage or two.

In order to enable Tibetan scholars who are not familiar with transliteration to use the catalogue, I have presented all titles, names, incipits, colophons and most of the headings of the lists of contents in Tibetan letters.

I. GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

AUTHOR:

- **Widely known name:**³⁴⁴ རོང་ཟོམ་པ་རྒྱུ་ཏཱ་ཙཱ་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོ་
- **Dates:** eleventh century³⁴⁵

TITLE:

- **Title of the collected writings:** རོང་ཟོམ་གསུང་འབྲུམ་
- **Title in margin (verso):** རོང་ཟོམ་གསུང་འབྲུམ་³⁴⁶

³⁴³ For easier reference, I chose to use the pagination within the volume and not that within the text. However, only the texts that form the actual part of the *Collected Writings* are given this pagination in the margin of the back side. All other texts such as Mi-pham's "catalogue" (*dkar chag*), the tables of contents at the end of each volume (*them byang*), the various supplementary texts like Yol-ston rDo-rje-dbang-phyug's biography (*rnam thar*) and Mi-pham's guru-yoga (*bla ma'i rnal 'byor*) bear only pagination on the front side, i.e. only pagination within the text. In these cases, I gave the pagination within volume in square brackets, relying on the text order given in the table of contents.

³⁴⁴ See also note 17.

³⁴⁵ The exact dates of Rong-zom-pa are unknown. For more details on this matter, see my discussion in the introduction pp. 37-39.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of volumes:** 3 (ཨ, ཨ and ཨ; here indicated as 1, 2 and 3)
- **Number of folios:**
 - Vol. 1: 367
 - Vol. 2: 354
 - Vol. 3: 345
- **Size of paper:** 55x10.5 cm
- **Size of blocks:** 42x7.7 cm
- **Size of printed area:** 37x5.7 cm
- **Lines of text per page:** 6
- **Printing method:** blockprint
- **Margin notation:**
 - **recto:** volume number - abbreviated title - pagination within text (in words)
 - **verso:** pagination within volume (in Tibetan numbers) - Dharmabhadraśāstram³⁴⁷

COLOPHONS:

- **Xylograph Colophon:**

༄༅། ཨོ་སྤྱེ་མྱེ། སྒོན་དུས་གངས་ཅན་རི་སྤུལ་འདི། ཨོས་དང་རྒྱལ་བས་སྒྲིང་པ་ཡི། །
བདུད་ཡུལ་མུན་པའི་སྒྲིང་དགུར་གྲགས། །དམར་ཕྱོགས་མཚན་མུན་འཁྲིགས་དང་མཚུངས། ༡ །
དེ་ཆེ་འཕགས་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་སྤྲུལ་ཆོགས། །དམན་འགྲོར་ལྷག་བཅའི་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཡིས། །ས་སྒྲིང་རྒྱལ་
སྒོན་བཅུན་མོར་བཅས། །སྤུལ་པ་ཉི་ཟེར་དུལ་ལྷར་ལྷགས། ༢ །ཁྱད་པར་བདེ་གཤེགས་སྒྲིང་མཐའ་
ཡས། །འཛིག་རྟེན་དབང་ཕུག་པད་འབྲུང་སོགས། །པརྒྱའི་རིགས་ཀྱིས་གདུལ་གཟིགས་ཏེ། །རྩུས་
སྒྲིས་སྤུལ་པའི་སྒྲུར་ཡང་བསྒྲན། ༣ །དང་པོའི་ལས་ཅན་བྱིས་པའི་ངོར། །འོན་སྒྲིང་མོ་ཅིས་ཕྱ་
གཡང་སོགས། །རྒྱལ་བའི་ཕྱོད་ལས་སྤྲོ་ཆོགས་པས། །འགྲོ་ནམས་ངལ་གསོའི་དབུགས་དབྲུང་
ཐོབ། ༤ །ཀུན་བཟང་ལྷ་མཚོག་ཐོ་རང་དུས། །དམ་ཆས་རྟེན་གསུམ་སྒྲི་རངས་གཤ། །མུན་སྒྲིང་
སྒྲིང་བའི་སྒོ་ཆེན་བྱིས། །མཚོག་གསུམ་བསྒྲན་པའི་ཞིང་དུ་གྱུར། ༥ །རིགས་གསུམ་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་
མེས་དཔོན་དང་། །སྤུལ་པའི་ལོ་པར་མཁན་སྒྲོབ་འཛོམ། །རྒྱལ་བསྒྲན་ཉིན་བྱིད་འདྲིན་པའི་ཆེ། །
འོག་མིན་ཞིང་ཁམས་སྒྲིངས་འདིར་འཕོས། ༦ །དེ་འདྲའི་མདོ་ཐུགས་རྗེས་ལྷན་དཔྱད། །
འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་དུ་འང་མ་བྱུང་ཞིས། །དཔལ་ལྷན་དྲི་པོ་ཀླ་ར་ཡིས། །ཞལ་བཞིས་གནང་སྟེ་དན་
དཔང་མཛད། ༧ །ཁྱད་པར་རྒྱལ་དབང་མཚོ་སྒྲིས་རྗེས། །ལྷ་འདྲི་དམ་བདགས་སྟོག་སྒྲིང་སྒྲིངས།

³⁴⁶ The Sanskrit name "Dharmabhadra" appears very often in the colophons and other passages. In some cases, however, it is incorrectly given as "Dharmābhadra", with the long vowel *ā*. In the following bibliographical description I presented it in all cases with the correct spelling, i.e., with short vowel *a*.

³⁴⁷ If otherwise, a description will be given separately in the respective passage.

ས་གཞི་བྱིན་བཞུགས་གདེར་གྱིས་གདམས། །མདོ་ལྷགས་ཆོས་འཁོར་བསྐྱར་བ་བཅས། ༥ །མཛེད་
 ཆེན་སྤྱོད་ལས་མ་སྦྱོང་ན། །ཕྱི་རབས་བསྟན་འགྲོའི་བདེ་སྦྱིད་ཀྱི། །ནམ་མཁར་གྲིས་པའི་རི་མོ་
 བཞིན། །བདུན་པའི་གོ་སྐབས་གཤམ་སྤྲོད། ༦ །འོན་ཀྱང་མི་བསུན་བྱིས་པ་འགས། །དྲིན་ལྡན་པ་
 མ་ལ་འཁྲུལ་ས། །ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཆོས་བསྟན་གཤམ་ནམས་ལ། །སྤྲུལ་བཅས་སྒྲུབ་བས་དབྱིངས་ནས་
 བྱིལ། ༧ །བདག་ཅག་དད་པས་ཐེས་འབྲང་བས། །ལྷ་དགོངས་ཟབ་དོན་མ་རྟོགས་ཀྱང་། །འོག་
 ལྷས་ཆོས་སྤྱོད་མ་བསགས་ཅམ། །ཆེ་རབས་ཀྱན་དུ་སྦྱིང་ནས་སྦྱོན། ༨ །ལྷ་དར་བྱ་ཆེན་བཀའ་ཡི་
 མཛེད། །གཉེགས་གནུབས་ཟུར་གསུམ་ལ་བབས་པའི། །རྒྱན་འཛིན་མཁས་གྲུབ་གཟུང་སྐར་
 བཞིན། །གངས་ལས་འདས་པ་བྱོན་མོད་ཀྱང་། ༩ །འགལ་རྒྱུ་དམ་སྤྱིའི་འཆོ་བ་ཡིས། །རྒྱལ་
 བསྟན་འགག་ལ་གདུགས་པའི་ཆོ། །མི་རྣམས་གསོའི་སྤྱོད་འཛིན་མཁས། །འཕགས་ཆེན་མཛེད་
 ཐེས་ངོ་མཆར་ཅན། ༡༠ །སྤྱོད་དུས་རིང་ཟོམ་སྦྱོང་ཆེན་ཐེ། །བར་དུ་སྤྱིན་གདེར་སྦྱོ་མཆེད་ཀྱིས། །
 རྩིང་བསྟན་གསོས་པའི་བཀའ་དྲིན་ལ། །ཕྱིས་བྱོན་མཁས་གྲུབ་དུ་མས་བཤམས། ༡༡ །དེ་ལ་
 འདིར་སྐབས་སུ་བབ་པ། ལྷ་འགྲུར་བཀའ་མའི་བསྟན་སྤྱོད་འཛིན་པའི་ཤིང་རྩ་ཆེན་པོ། མཁས་
 ཤིང་གྲུབ་པའི་དབང་ཕུག། སྤྱུལ་པའི་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་མ་རྩུ་པའི་དྲུང་། དཔལ་རིང་ཟོམ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོ་
 ཅི། ལྷ་འགྲུར་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་ཤོས་ཡིན་པས། རབ་བྱུང་དང་པོའི་ལྷགས་འབྲུག་ལོར་གཙང་
 རིང་སྤར་ལྷང་དུ་སྦྱོ་འབྲངས་ནས། རྒྱུས་སྤྱངས་མཁྱེན་རབ་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་གངས་རེའི་ཁྱོད་ན་འགྲན་
 སྒྲུབ་ཞིང་། གཞན་པའི་སྤྱོད་ལས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་ཐེ་ལྷ་ར་བསྐྱང་ཚུལ་རྣམས་ཐར་ཐེ་སྦྱིད་ཞིག་
 སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་ཆོས་འབྲུང་དེབ་ཐེར་རྣམས་དང་། འཇམ་མགོན་མི་པམ་རིན་པོ་ཆེས་མཛེད་པའི་བཀའ་
 འབུམ་པར་རྩིང་གི་དཀར་ཆག་དུ་གསལ། འདིར་ཕྱིས་བྱོན་མཁས་གྲུབ་དུ་མས་ཐེ་ལྷ་ར་བཤམས་
 ཚུལ་ཟུར་ཅམ་བཛེད་ན། ཀྱན་མཁྱེན་འཛིགས་མེད་སྤྱོད་པས། ཐེ་སྦྱོང་དུ། གངས་རེའི་ཁྱོད་ན་
 མདོ་སྦྱོ་སེམས་གསུམ་གྱི་བསྟན་པ་མི་རྣམས་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཆོན་དུ་གྱུར་པ་རིང་ཟོམ་པའི་དྲུང་ཆེན་པོ།
 རྒྱལ་བ་སྦྱོང་ཆེན་རབ་འབུམས། གཡུང་སྦྱོན་དོ་ཐེ་དཔལ། པའི་དྲུང་ཡི་ཤེས་རིལ་པ་ལ་སྤྲུལ་ངོ་
 མཆར་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྤྱོད་ལ། ཞེས་དང་། དབང་ལྷང་རྒྱན་ལ་མདོ་སྦྱོ་སེམས། རྒྱུད་འབུམ་ལ་སྤྲུལ་
 བཀའ་མའི་རྒྱན། རྩིང་ཐེག་ཡ་བཞི་སྦྱབ་སྤྱོད་བརྒྱད། ཡོད་ན་ལྷ་འགྲུར་བསྟན་པ་ཡོད། མེད་ན་དེ་
 རྩིང་ཉམས་པའི་རྟགས། ཡིན་པས་རང་སྤྱིའི་སྤྱོད་འབྱེད་ལ། ཀྱན་མཁྱེན་ཐེ་དང་རིང་ཟོམ་

ཞབས། །མངའ་མེས་པམ་ཆེན་གཤམ་རབ་འོད། །འགྲན་ཟླ་བའི་མཁས་གྲུབ་ཡིན། །དེ་དག་
 གཞུང་ལ་གྱུས་པ་བསྐྱེད། །ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། །ཟེ་ཆེན་གྱལ་ཆབ་འགྱུར་མེད་པས་རྣམས་གྱལ་
 གྱིས་ཀྱང་། །ཟུར་པ་ཡབ་སྲས་བཤད་སྒྲུབ་ཅ་བ་བཅུགས། །འོང་སྟོང་སྟོལ་གཡུང་བཤད་སྒྲུབ་ཡན་
 ལག་བརྒྱང་། །ཟློས་སྟོན་སྒྲུ་མཆེད་བཤད་སྒྲུབ་མེ་འབྲས་སྐྱེད། །དེང་ཡང་སྟོད་ཡོད་བཀའ་དྲིན་
 འཁོར་མཐའ་ཅི། །སྲིད་འགྱུར་བྱེ་བས་ཁྲུག་མིན་རྣམས་མཛོད། །ཟླ་བའི་པ་ཡི་ནོར་སྒྲུབ་འདི་ཡོད་
 བཞིན། །གཞན་ལུགས་འཆིང་བུའི་དོ་ལ་རིན་ཆེན་དུ། །རེ་བས་གྲུག་རྣམས་སྒྲུབ་བ་དམན་པར་
 ཞེས། །ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་ཡོད་ཆེས་བྱ་བའི་གནས་སོ། །སྒར་སྒྲུབ་པ། ས་ཆེན་འཕགས་
 པ་རོང་ཟོམ་བཀའ་ཡི་མཛོད། །བཟླ་རྒྱ་རེ་གྱུད་དང་དབྱེར་མེད་པས། །དྲོན་པ་བཞི་ལྷན་ངེས་དོན་
 གཞུང་འདི་འདྲ། །སྲིད་གསུམ་འཛིག་དེན་བཅའ་ཀྱང་ཆེད་པར་དཀའ། ༡ །དེ་ཕྱིར་ལྷ་འགྱུར་ཆོས་
 ལ་དད་ཅིང་གྱུས། །གཞུང་ལུགས་རབ་འབྲམས་དྲང་ངེས་མ་ནོར་བ། །སོ་སོར་འབྱེད་ལ་དོན་
 གཉེར་སྟོ་ལྷན་ཆོས། །གཞུང་བཟང་འདི་དག་ཐོས་བསམ་བྱ་བར་རེགས། ༢ །ཕུན་ཆོགས་ལྷ་ལྷན་
 རྩོན་དུས་ལས་ཅན་ངོར། །གསུང་རབ་ཕུ་སྟེ་དབྱངས་གསལ་གྲངས་བཞུལ་ཡང་། །སྟིགས་དུས་
 གདུལ་བུའི་བསོད་ནམས་བཞོ་སྒྲུབ་དུ། །སྒྲུ་གསུམ་མཆོན་པར་བཞུགས་འདིར་གཟིགས་བཙོན་
 འཆལ། ༣ །གྲངས་མེད་རིག་འཛིན་འོད་སྒྱུར་གཤམས་པའི་ལམ། །ཅུ་དུམ་ལྷ་རེ་གཅུག་གྱུན་
 སྒྲུབ་ཐོབ་བཞིན། །ཁུ་སྟིགས་སེར་པོར་གསེར་གྱི་ཅོད་པན་དུ། །མངོན་སྟོན་རེ་འཆོལ་ངལ་བ་ཅི་ཞིག་
 དགོས། ༤ །ཆོས་རྒྱལ་འདི་ལ་རྣམ་དཀར་འབྲེལ་མཆོན་དགོས། །སྟིང་པོའི་བསྟན་པ་མི་རུབ་
 དར་ཞིང་གྱུས། །བསྟན་འཛིན་སྟིགས་བུའི་ཕྱིན་ལས་སྲིད་གསུམ་ཁྱབ། །བདག་དང་འབྲེལ་ཐོགས་
 མངོན་སངས་གྱུར་གྱུར་ཅིག །ཅེས་པའང་ལྷ་འགྱུར་བཀའ་མ་ནང་གྱུད་ལྷེ་གསུམ་གྱི་དགོངས་
 འབྲེལ་གྱུ་བ་ཆོས་སུ་གཏོགས་པ་མ་དུ་པརྟེ་ད་རོང་ཟོམ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོའི་གསུང་རབ་ཕུ་སྟེ་ཀ་བཅུ་
 ཕྱག་ཁ་གས་ལྷར་དུས་སུ་བཞུགས་པར་གྲགས་ཀྱང་། སལ་ཆེར་རེམ་གྱིས་རུབ་སྟེ་མི་མིན་གྱི་བསོད་
 རྣམས་ལས་སྒྲུབ་དུ་གྱུར། །ཕྱིས་སུ་ལོ་ཆེན་བེ་རོའི་རྣམ་འཕུལ་གྱལ་སྲས་གཞན་པན་མཐའ་ཡས་
 འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས་དབྱས་གཙང་ཁམས་གསུམ་ནས་བཀའ་བསྐྱུ་གནང་བ་ཅ་པོད་གཉིས་དང་། །ཇིས་
 བསྐྱས་པོད་གཅིག་བཅས་སྒྲུ་གསུམ་གྲངས་ལྷན་རྩོགས་ཆེན་གྱི་སང་དུ་པར་བཞུགས་པ་དུས་འགྱུར་
 སྒྲུབས་སྟུན་མའི་སྟོང་དུ་ཐིམ་སྟེ་དཔེ་གྱུན་རུབ་ཉེར་གྱུར་ཆེ་གྱལ་བསྟན་བསྐྱར་གསོར་ཆ་ཅམ་པན་

སྒྲིམ་བཀའ་འབུམ་པོད་གསུམ་ཤིང་པར་སྐྱར་སྐྱོན་བྱིད་པོ་དགེ་སྤྱོད་ཐ་གལ་བ་གན་བུ་པལ་ཀྱན་གྲོལ་
མིང་ཅན་དེས་སྒྲིམ་ཆོག་དུ་བྲིས་པ་འདིས་མཆོན་དུས་གསུམ་བསགས་དགེས་སྤྱོད་པོའི་བསྐྱན་པ་
མི་རྒྱལ་ཡུན་གནས་ཡོང་བའི་རྒྱར་རྒྱར་ཅིག །སའ་མཆོ་ལམ། ॥

- **Place:** རྫོགས་ཆེན་གྱི་སང་
- **Time:** 1980's ?
- **Sponsor:** པལ་ཀྱན་གྲོལ་ (?)
- **Scribes/carvers:** not mentioned
- **Author of colophon:** པལ་ཀྱན་གྲོལ་
- **Special remarks:**

This xylograph colophon for the entire *Rong-zom's Collected Writings* (*rong zom gsung 'bum spar byang*) written by Padma-kun-grol is three folios long and consists of four parts. As in most colophons, here too, the first part is a prayer (generally known as *smon byang*) in fourteen *śloka*s. The second part, written in prose, provides some additional details about Rong-zom-pa. Padma-kun-grol here indicates Rong-zom-pa as the last lo-tsā-ba of the "early translation" period.³⁴⁸ According to him, Rong-zom-pa was born in the iron-dragon year of the first cycle (1040) (*rab byung dang po'i lcags 'brug lo*)³⁴⁹ in Rong sNar-lung in gTsang.³⁵⁰ Padma-kun-grol cites 'Jigs-med-gling-pa where he mentions Rong-zom-pa, along with Klong-chen-pa, g.Yung-ston rDo-rje-dpal, Paṇḍita Ye-shes-rol-pa, etc., as some of the lineage gurus who become the victory banner of the three sections of Sūtra, Illusion and Mind (*mdo sgyu sems gsum*). He also cites two and a half verses by 'Jigs-med-gling-pa indicating Rong-zom-pa, together with Klong-chen-pa, mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen Shes-rab-'od, as an unrivaled scholar and accomplished master. He further cites two verses by Ze-chen rGyal- tshab 'Gyur-med-padma-rnam-rgyal stating that the Zur-pas—father and son(s)—"upheld the root" (*rtsa ba btsugs*) of the traditions of teaching and practicing (*bshad sgrub*), that Rong-[zom-pa], Klong-[chen-pa], sGrol-[ma-bsam-grub?] and g.Yung-[ston] "extended the limbs" (*yan lag brkyang*) of these two traditions, and that the brothers of Myos-ston "generated the flowers and fruits" (*me 'bras skyed*). Ze-chen rGyal-tshab also describes the teachings of those masters as priceless ("they are not to be substituted even by worldly

³⁴⁸ See note 18.

³⁴⁹ On Rong-zom-pa's dates, see the introduction, pp. 37-39.

³⁵⁰ Cf. note 224.

riches multiplied ten million times"), and says that one should know that those who, in spite of having this unparalleled inherited wealth, rush after other traditions which are like spurious stones, have little fortune.³⁵¹ The third part consists of another short prayer, five *śloka*s in length, and the fourth part, written in prose, appends some general details about this edition of the *Collected Writings*. There Padma-kun-grol states that the prints of the two volumes which were compiled by gZhan-phan-mtha'-yas and the print of the later, third volume all of which existed in rDzogs-chen Shrī-seng, have been "dissolved into the sphere of Locānā when the time has changed (*dus 'gyur skabs*)", (i.e., during the Cultural Revolution), and that the continued existence of this textual tradition was almost broken. Therefore, he, Padma-kun-grol, with the good motivation of reviving the doctrines of the Buddha, let the blocks for the three volumes be carved and printed.³⁵²

II. DESCRIPTION OF EACH TEXT

VOLUME 1

TEXT NO. 1-A, fols. [I-XXb₄]

TITLE:

- **on title page:** རྩོམ་ཐོས་གསུང་འབྲུམ་དཀར་ཆག་མེ་ཏོག་ཕྱིང་བ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** རྩོམ་ཐོས་དཀར་ཆག་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **Widely known name:** འཇུ་མི་ཤམ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་གྲུལ་གྱི་མཚོ་
- **in author colophon:** མི་ཤམ་པ་
- **in xylograph colophon:** མི་ཤམ་ / མི་ཤམ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་དབྱེས་པའི་དོ་རྩི་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 20
- **Margin notation:**
- **r.** : abridged title - folio number of text (in words)

³⁵¹ I was unable to locate those citations. On the last verse by Ze-chen rGyal-tshab, cf. the verse by Mi-pham as cited in the introduction, p. 21.

³⁵² See also the introduction, p. 20.

INCIPIT:

ཨོ་སྤ་སྤེ་བེ་ཇ་ཡ་རྒྱ། ལྷ་མེ་འི་སྤོན་པ་མཚུངས་མེད་ཉི་མེ་འི་གཉིན། །སྤྱལ་སྤྱས་འཇམ་པའི་
དབྱངས་དང་སྤྱལ་ཚབ་ཆེ། །འཇམ་སྤྱིང་སྤོན་མཚོག་སྤྱོད་མཁས་གྲུབ་བཅས། །དངོས་བསྐྱེད་སྤ་
མེ་ཚོགས་ལ་ཤུག་བགྱེལ། །

COLOPHONS:

• **Author colophon:**

ཅེས་དཀར་ཆག་མདོར་བསྐྱུས་འདི་ཉིད་རུ་དམ་ཡང་དབེན་དུ་མི་ཤམ་པས་གིང་འབྲུག་ལོའི་བྲུམ་
སྤོད་ཟླ་བའི་ཆེས་ལཱ་ལ་ཇོགས་པར་བཀོད་པ་མཛུ་ལོ། ། ༡ །གཞན་ཤན་མཐའ་ཡས་མཚོག་གི་སྤྱལ་
པའི་སྤྱ། །གཞན་ཤན་ཚུས་ཀྱི་སྤྱང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བས། །གཞན་ཤན་སྤྱད་དུ་སྤྱར་འདི་བསྐྱུབས་པའི་
དགེས། །གཞན་ཤན་སྤོན་ལས་ས་སྤོང་བྲུབ་གྲུར་ཅིག །ཅེས་པའང་མི་ཤམ་པས་སོ།

- **Place:** རུ་དམ་ཡང་དབེན་

- **Date:** 5th of the 8th month in the wood-dragon year (1904)

• **Xylograph colophon:**

བྱི་མེད་སྤར་བྱང་འདི་མི་ཕྱི་གསུང་ཆེ་སྤོན་མི་རྒྱབ་སྤྱིར་བཀོད་པའོ། ། ༡ །འཇམ་དཔལ་དབྱངས་
དངོས་མ་རྒྱ་པརྱ་ཏ་ལོ་ཙྰ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་རོང་ཟོམ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོའི་གསུང་རབ་སྤར་སྤྱོད་ཆེར་བཞུགས་
ཀྱང་ཤུས་རིམ་གྱིས་རྒྱབ་པར་གྲུར་ཆོ། །ལོ་ཆེན་བེ་རོའི་རྒྱམ་འཕྲུལ་སྤྱོད་ཞབས་དགེ་མང་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་
སྤྱལ་སྤྱས་གཞན་ཤན་མཐའ་ཡས་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས། །རྩིང་བསྐྱན་སྤྱི་ལ་ཐུགས་ཁུར་རྒྱབས་ཆེན་གནང་
སྤྱ། །དབྱས་གཙང་ཁམས་གསུམ་ནས་སྤྱོད་འགྱུར་བཀའ་མའི་དཔེ་རྩིང་དཀོན་རིགས་དང་། །བྱི་བྲག་
རོང་ཟོམ་ཆེན་པོའི་གསུང་ལ་ཐུགས་རྩིས་ཆེ་བར་གནང་སྤྱོད་བཀའ་བསྐྱུ་མཇུག་ནས། །རུ་དམ་ལྱང་
ཇོགས་ཆེན་དཔལ་གྱི་རི་ཡི་ཆོས་གཞི་ཆེན་པོ་རྟེན་བརྟེན་པ་གསར་འཇུགས་གནང་བའི་གྲས་སྤྱ་
སྤར་བསྐྱན་མཇུག་པ་འཕྲོ་ཙན་དུ་ལུས་པ། །དེའི་ཡང་སྤྱིད་གཞན་ཤན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྤྱང་བས་གོང་མའི་
སྤོན་ལས་མཐའ་སྤྱིང་བའི་སྤྱབས། །ཀུན་མཁྱེན་མི་ཤམ་འཇམ་དཔལ་དབྱས་པའི་རྩི་རྩེས་གསུང་
འབྱམ་དཀར་ཆག་མཇུག་པ་འདིའི་ནང་དུ། །རྩི་རོང་ཟོམ་པའི་རྟོགས་བརྩོད་དེབ་ཐེར་མདོར་བསྐྱུས་
དང་འབྲེལ། །གསུང་རབ་རྒྱམས་ཀུན་མཁྱེན་སངས་སྤོན་ཀྱི་བཀའ་དང་རྒྱམ་དབྱི་མ་མཆིས་ཞིང་།

བཤོད་པུ་དོན་ཟབ་ཅིང་སྒྱུ་ཆེ་བ་དང་བ་དང་ངེས་པའི་དོན་སོ་སོར་འབྱེད་པའི་མི་ལོང་ལྟར་གསལ་
 བ། རྫོང་བྱིད་ལུང་དང་རིགས་³⁵³པས་མཐའ་དཔྱད་ཅིང་ཆད་མ་གསུམ་གྱིས་གདན་ལ་དབབ་པ།
 གང་ཟག་སྒྲི་མཆོག་དམན་སུ་འདྲ་ཞིག་གིས་འཇལ་ཀྱང་གོ་བདེ་བ། སྤྱིར་སྒོལ་བ་སྒྲན་ཀ་འཆོལ་
 མཁན་རྣམས་ཀྱང་མཐར་ཐེ་ཆོམ་གྱི་སྒྲིག་ལས་སྒོལ་གིང་ཡིད་ཆེས་རྟེན་ཐུབ་པ། བསྐྱན་བཅོས་ཁྱད་
 འཕགས་འདི་འདྲ་བ་སྒྱུ་བོད་གཉིས་ནའང་དགོན་པ་ཡིན་ཕྱིར། སྤྱིར་བས་ལྷ་འགྱུར་བསྐྱན་ལ་གུས་
 པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྒྱུ་མཆན་ངེས་པའི་སྒྲི་ནས་དཔེ་སྒྲིག་བཅུལ་འཆོལ་དང་། སྤྱི་ཞུ་བསྐྱན་བཀྱར་ཆེན་
 ཡོས་སྤྱིང་རྟོར་དུ་བཅངས་པར་འོས་པའི་བཀའ་གཅིགས་ཞལ་གདམས་ནན་ཏན་གནང་བ་མ་ཟད།
 རྗེ་དེའི་དགོངས་པའི་མཐར་ཐུག །སངས་སྐུ་ལ་གཞི་གནས་རང་བྱུང་གི་ཡི་ཤེས་ཆེན་པོ་དངོས་
 སུ་བཞེད་ཚུལ་གསུང་བཀའི་ཁྱད་སྤངས་དེ། ཀྱན་མཁྱེན་སྒྲོང་ཆེན་པའི་གཞུང་དང་དགོངས་པ་
 གཅིག་དུ་འབབ་ཚུལ་བསྐྱབ་སྟོན་དང་བསྒྲགས། གསུང་འབུམ་གྱི་སངས་སྤར་ཅན་དབྱངས་ཡིག་ཐོག་
 མ་ཟུང་གི་གྲངས་ལྡན་གྱི་བཀའ་ཐེམ་མཆན་ཐོ་ཤོག་གྲངས་བཅས་བསྐྱན་པ་མི་རྒྱུ་བའི་བཅས་སུ་
 བཀོད་པ་འཕགས་ཆེན་གྱི་གསུང་བྱིན་ཆབས་ཅན་ཡིན་ཕྱིར། བཟོ་བཅོས་མ་བྱ་བ་རང་སོར་བཞག་
 པ་འདི་ཉིད་ལ་གཞིགས་ནས། བསྐྱན་འགྲོར་ཐུགས་ཁུར་གནང་མཁན་སྤྱིས་བྱ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཐུགས་
 དྲན་གསོ་བའི་གཟིགས་རྟེན་གནང་བར་ཞུ། །མདོ་ལྷགས་ཆོས་ཚུལ་གསུང་རབ་སྒྱུ་མཆོའི་བཅུད། །
 ལྷ་འགྱུར་བཀའ་གདོར་མན་ངག་དགོངས་འབྱེལ་བཅས། །ངེས་དོན་བསྐྱན་པ་ཉི་ཟླའི་སྒྲིན་མི་
 མཆོག །སྤྱིར་མཐར་མི་རྒྱུ་བའི་ཤོ་ཕན་འབྱུང་གྱུར་ཅིག །བསྐྱན་འགྲོའི་དུས་སྤྱད་སྒྱུར་གསོའི་ཆེད་
 སྤར་བསྐྱན་བྱིད་པོ་པར་ཀྱན་སྒོལ་ནས་སྒྲིན་པ་དག། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** 1) In the RZKB, pp. 1-39. 2) In the YDPE, Vol. 1, 56 pp.
- **References to the text in other literature:** In S. G. Karmay's *The Great Perfection*.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**
 The text, which is a "catalogue" (*dkar chag*) of *Rong-zom-pa's Collected Writings*, begins with the biography of Rong-zom-pa and continues with a short biography of gZhan-phan-mtha'-yas, the scholar responsible for searching out and collecting the then-accessible writings of Rong-zom-pa in the 19th century. Mi-pham, who provided editorial assistance at the final stage of compilation, also gives a brief account of the

³⁵³ Text reads *rig pa*.

compilation and printing work of the collection. This is followed by a short discussion by Mi-pham describing Rong-zom-pa's view regarding the existence of primordial gnosis (*ye shes*) on the stage of Buddhahood. Finally, Mi-pham lists the texts included in the collection which, at that time, consisted of only two volumes.

- **List of contents:**³⁵⁴

Title page	1a
Verses of Invocation	1b ₁ ལྷ་མིའི་
Rong-zom Mahāpaṇḍita—A Biography	2a ₁ དེ་ཡང་
gZhan-phan-mtha'-yas—A Short Biography	8b ₃ དེ་ལྟར་
The Compilation of <i>Rong-zom's Collected Writings</i>	11a ₃ སྐྱུ་ཞབས་
The Controversy About Rong-zom-pa's Stance Regarding the Existence of Primordial Gnosis on the Stage of Buddhahood	12b ₃ རྩ་འབྱུར་
The Catalogue	17a ₁ དེ་ལྟར་
Dedication	19a ₁ སྐར་ཡང་
Author Colophon	19b ₂ ཅེས་དཀར་
Xylograph Colophon	19b ₂ བྲི་མིང་

TEXT NO. 1-1, fols. 1-4b₃

TITLE:

- **on title page:** རྟོ་རྩེ་སེམས་དཔའ་གླུ་འགྲུལ་བྱ་བའི་འཆ་རྒྱུད་དཔལ་གསང་བ་མྱིང་པོའི་ཁོག་དབྱུབ་འབྱིང་པོ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** ཁོག་འབྱིང་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** ཀུན་མཁྱེན་རིང་ཟེམ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 4

³⁵⁴ Since the text lacks a distinct subdivision and therefore also headings, I presented here the subdivision and headings in English, as I have done in my translation.

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ཀུན་མཁྱེན་རིང་ཟེམ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོའི་གསུང་ཡིན་ནོ། །སང་མཛུ་ལོ། །

References to the text in other literature: 1) In the *Tho yig*, see Appendix A, 1.7. 2) In D. Martin's *Tibetan Histories*, p. 25.

This is Rong-zom-pa's medium-sized commentary outlining the *Guhyagarbha-Tantra*.³⁵⁵ He presents here two explanations: The first one, meant for persons with keen faculties (*dbang po rab*) (lit. "highest" or "best" faculties), is simply an explanation of the name of the tantra. The second, meant for persons with middling faculties (*dbang po 'bring*), is a brief description of the five sub-topics of the tantra, namely, the basis for introduction (*gleng gzhi*), the introduction (*gleng bslang*), the body of the tantra (*rgyud kyi gzhung*), the entrustment of the tantra (*yongs su gtad pa* or *gzung ba*) and the "purpose and link" (*dgos 'brel*) of the tantra.³⁵⁶ For persons with dull faculties (*dbang po tha*) (lit. "last" or "lowest" faculties) Rong-zom-pa composed the long commentary.³⁵⁷

TITLE:

- on title page:³⁵⁹ རྩུ་འཕུལ་གསང་བ་སྒྲིང་པོའི་ཅ་རྒྱུད་ཚུལ་བཞི་ཡན་ལག་བཅོ་ལྔ་ས་བཀྲལ་བ་
དགོན་ཅོག་འབྲེལ་
- Abbreviated title in margin: སྒྲིང་ཁྲི་ཀ་³⁶⁰
- in colophon: དཔལ་གསང་བའི་སྒྲིང་པོའི་དཀར་འབྲེལ་ཚུལ་བཞི་ཡན་ལག་བཅོ་ལྔ་ས་ལུང་གི་
སྒྲིར་བཤད་པ་³⁶¹
- Widely known title: དགོན་ཅོག་འབྲེལ་ or དགོན་མཆོག་འབྲེལ་³⁶²

³⁵⁹ Because this title contains the popular title *dkon cog 'grel* (see below: widely known titles), it would seem that it was given at a later time. The original title is most likely the one given in the colophon.

³⁶⁰ Some folios read *tika* with short *i* (the correct Sanskrit reading is *tikā*).

³⁶¹ This title is most probably one of the few titles originally given by Rong-zom-pa himself. Although the title reads "*A Commentary by Way of the Four Modes and Fifteen Aspects (or Branches)*", I could not find, as I went through the commentary, any strong support for assigning the commentary this title. In the concluding part (see list of contents: conclusion, paragraph b.), however, Rong-zom-pa summarizes the commentary and presents it (for the first time?) as an explanation of the tantra according to Four Modes and Fifteen Aspects as follows (fols. 211b₆-212b₁):

I. Explanation of the mode of entering the tenet system in general (*grub pa'i mtha' spyi la 'jug pa'i tshul*) through the three aspects (*yan lag*) of the doctrines (*bstan pa rnams*) of: (1) foundation (*gzhi*), (2) path (*lam*) and (3) fruit (*'bras bu*).

II. Explanation of the mode of entering the tantra in general (*rgyud spyi la 'jug pa'i tshul*) through the aspects of: (4) the main topics taught by the [various] chapters of the tantra (*rgyud kyi skabs rnams kyi bstan par bya ba'i dngos po*), (5) the basis of training and the distinction between the common and the special features (*bslab pa'i gzhi dang thun mong dang khyad par gyi bye brag*) and (6) the traditions of expounding (*bshad lugs rnams*).

III. Explanation of the mode of entering the text itself (*gzhung nyid la 'jug pa'i tshul*) through the aspects of: (7) outlining (*khog dbub pa*), (8) the greatness [of the tantra] (*che ba*), (9) the structure of the text (*babs*) and (10) the meanings of the syllables (*'bru'i don rnams*).

IV. Explanation of the mode belonging to the series of the Action Ritual (*bya ba'i cho ga'i rim par gtogs pa'i tshul*) through the aspects of: (11) showing the series of how to perform the ritual of empowerment and of (12) the bestowal of tantric commitments (*dbang dang/ dam tshig sbyin pa'i cho ga ji ltar bya ba'i rim pa bstan pa*) which are known as the duties of the master (*slob dpon gyi las*) and which belong to the conduct of entering (*'jug pa'i spyod par gtogs pa*), relying on the two types of maṇḍala (*dkyil 'khor rnam pa gnyis la brten nas*), and (13) the series of performing the method of attaining the common and (14) the supreme accomplishments (*thun mong dang/ mchog gi dngos grub bsgrub pa'i thabs kyi bya ba'i rim pa*) through [the practice of] Ritual Service and Evocation (*bsnyen sgrub*) which is the teaching on the general activities of a yogi (*rnal 'byor spyi'i bya bar gsungs pa*) and which belongs to the conduct of attainments (*sgrub pa'i spyod par gtogs pa*) relying on the two maṇḍalas, and (15) the way of attaining the four types of rites (*las rnam pa bzhi ji ltar bsgrub pa*) belonging to the conduct of having been accomplished (*grub pa'i spyod pa*).

The structure of the commentary does not seem to follow this pattern. It is possible, however, that a careful investigation will show that all of these sub-topics or aspects are included in the commentary.

³⁶² This title was given at a later time and nowadays is the most popular title for the commentary. This name was given to the commentary because it starts with the words *kun cog gsums* (see incipit and also *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*, p. 318₁₉). The commentary is sometimes also referred to as simply *Rong 'grel* (see, for example, H. V. Guenther's *Matrix of Mystery*, p. 296).

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- in author colophon: ཚོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོ་
- in xylograph colophon: ཀླན་མཁྱེན་རྩིང་ཟོམ་ཆེན་པོ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- Number of folios: 209
- Illustrations:
 - fols. 6b middle: གསང་ཆེན་མཛོད་འཛིན་གི་མ་ལ་
 - fols. 7a left: སྒྲ་སྒྲུར་ལོ་ཙཱ་མ་རིན་ཆེན་
 - fols. 7a right: སྒྲིང་འབྲེལ་བྱིད་པོ་རྩིང་ཟོམ་ཇི་
 - fols. 214a middle: ཐུགས་རྟེན་བདུད་འདུལ་མཚོད་རྟེན་ཆེ་

INCIPIT:

དཀོན་ཚུགས་གསུམ་གྱི་རང་བཞིན་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས། །དེ་སྟོལ་སྤྲོ་མ་དེ་རྒྱ་ལྷག་པའི་ལྷ། །དེ་དབང་
སྤྱུལ་པའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་བཅས་པ་ལ། །ཕྱག་འཆལ་དེ་གསུང་ལམ་དང་སྒྲུབ་བཅས་ལོ། །

COLOPHONS:

• Author colophon:

སྤྲོ་མ་དམ་པ་ཆུལ་བྲིམས་བཟང་། །དེ་སྟོགས་ཞབས་ལ་ཕྱག་བཅུལ་ནས། །དཔལ་ལྷན་སྤྲོ་པོའི་
དཀའ་འབྲེལ་དུ། །འདི་ནི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོས་བྲས། །ཡུལ་དུས་གང་ཟག་དམན་བཞིན་བདག་གིས་
ནི། །དམ་པས་མཛོད་ཅེས་ཁྲུང་སྤྱང་མ་བྲས་པས། །མ་བསྐྱུས་ཕྱིར་དང་གཞན་གྱིས་གསོལ་
བདབ་ཕྱིར། །སྒྲུ་སྟོགས་སྟོམས་སྟོགས་སྒྲིབ་པར་མི་འགྱུར་གང་། །གང་ཟག་རྣམས་ནི་ལྷ་བ་སྒྲ་
ཚོགས་དབང་གིས་ན། །འཕགས་དང་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མཛོད་པའི་གཞུང་ལ་ཡང་། །མཐུན་
པར་སྤོང་མིན་མཚུངས་པར་བཤམས་པ་བཛོད་མིན་ཞིང་། །སྒྲི་སྒྲུར་དཔྱ་བར་བྱིད་ན་བདག་གཞུང་
ཅེས་མི་སྤོང་། །དེ་ཕྱིར་བཤམས་ཤིང་གཞན་དོན་འགྱུར་ཞིས་སྤོ་བ་མིད། །འོན་ཀྱང་གང་ཞིག་ཚོས་
དང་རིགས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱུད་འཛིན་རྣམས། །བདག་གི་ཚིག་ལ་རྒྱལ་བའི་བཀའ་ལྷན་གསུང་བྱིད་པ། །དེ་
ཡིས་ཡོན་ཏན་གྲུབ་བཅས་ཐོབ་པར་འབྱུང་བས་ན། །དེ་དག་གྱུད་ལ་ཅེས་རྟོགས་གཞག་སྤམ་དགའ་
བ་སྒྲིས། །དེ་དོན་ཕྱིར་ན་གཞན་གྱིས་བསྐྱུལ་བས་འདི་སྟོ་སྒྲི། །མྱོངས་པས་འབྲུལ་སྤིང་གདམས་
ངག་དབང་གིས་མ་འབྲུལ་སྤིང་། །འབྲུལ་བར་གྱུར་ན་ལྷ་དང་སྤྲོ་མས་བཟོད་པར་མཛོད། །མ་

འབྲུལ་གྱི་རྩ་དག་གི་བཅུ་གཉིས་དོན་དུ་བསྟོན། །།དཔལ་གསང་བའི་སྒྲིང་པོའི་དཀར་འབྲུལ་ཚུལ་
བཞི་ཡན་ལག་བརྩེ་ལྟ་ལུང་གི་སྒྲིང་བཅུ་པའོ། །།རྩོགས་སོ། ། ༥ །

• **Xylograph colophon:**

ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ཡུལ། །ངེས་པ་ལྟ་ལྟ་འབྲས་ཆོས་ཉིད་ལཱའི་བདག །རིགས་ཀྱི་ཁྱུ་བཅུ་བདག་རྩི་ཆེ་འཆང་
ཆེན་པོས། །ཡི་ཤེས་རང་སྒྲུང་དག་པའི་འཁོར་ཆོགས་ལ། །དགོངས་བཅའི་དོན་གྱི་དྲུག་བཅོ་
བརྒྱད་གསུངས། ༡ །དེ་ཡི་སྒྲིང་བསྐྱས་རྩི་མཐུན་སྒྲིང་ཆེ། །སྒྲིང་ཕྱག་བརྒྱ་པའི་ཡང་སྒྲིང་ཅ་བའི་
གྱི། །གསང་བའི་སྒྲིང་པོ་དེ་ཉིད་ངེས་པའི་གཞུང་། །ཡོན་ཏན་བཞི་ལྟ་བུ་ཆོས་མཆན་དུ་
གསོལ། ༢ །བཙུང་བྱ་གཞི་ལམ་འབྲས་གསུམ་དབྱེར་མེད་དོན། །རྩི་བྱེད་བཅུ་གྲུ་སྒྲིང་
སྒྲིང་གསུམ་ཕྱིར། །ཚུལ་བཞི་ཡན་ལག་བརྩེ་ལྟ་ལུང་ཁྱེད་པའོ། །དངོས་པོ་དགུ་ཡི་རང་བཞིན་
གཏན་དབབ་པ། ༣ །དཀོན་ཙམ་འབྲུལ་གསུམ་དཀར་འབྲུལ་སྒྲིང་རྒྱ་ཀྱའདི། །བཏན་པའི་འཁོར་
ལོ་ལོ་ཅའི་ཚུལ་བཟུང་བ། །ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོའི་ཐུགས་གསང་མཛོད་ནས་ཕྱུང་། །རྩི་དཀར་ལྷ་
དུམ་ལྷ་རའི་མེ་དོག་འདྲ། ༤ །དབྱེད་གསུམ་དག་པའི་གཞུང་བཟང་འདི་ལྷ་བྲ། །རྩི་དུས་
འཕགས་བོད་གཉིས་སུ་དཀོན་པར་གསུམ། །དེ་ཕྱིར་ཁྱུ་བའི་དཀར་དང་དབྱེར་མེད་དུ། །བཏན་
འཛིན་ཀྱིས་གཉིས་དུ་བཀྱར་བར་འོས། ༥ །གསང་ཆེན་གྱི་དོན་ཐབས་ཤེས་མེད་བྱུང་ལམ།
བདེ་ལྷུང་ཡིད་སྦྱོབ་འདོད་འབྱུང་ཁྱུ་བོ་འདི། །ཡལ་བར་དོར་དེ་སངས་ཁྱིམ་བསྐྱབ་འདོད་པ། །
མྱོངས་ཆེན་བྱིས་སྒྱིད་རང་ཉིད་ངལ་བའི་གནས། ༦ །མ་དག་ཕྱུང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་རྩི་བྱེད་འདྲའི་ཆོས།
ཡི་ནས་དག་པ་གདན་གསུམ་ལྷ་ཡི་སྒྲིང་། །དག་མཉམ་བདེན་པ་ལྷ་བའི་གདོང་ཐོབ་ན། །དཀར་ཕྱུ་
གདུང་བའི་རེ་དོགས་འཕྲང་ལས་བཞུལ། ༧ །དེ་ཕྱིར་ལས་ཉོན་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་འབྲུལ་པའི་བདུད། །
དུག་ལྷ་ལམ་ཁྱེད་ཡི་ཤེས་ལྷུང་གར་ནས། །ལྷུག་བདེན་དངོས་སྒྲིང་འགོག་བདེན་ཕྱག་གྱི་ལྷུང་། །
གཞན་དུ་འཛོལ་བའི་མྱོངས་པ་རང་སར་ཡལ། ༨ །ཁྱུ་བཏན་དུས་ཀྱི་ཁྱུ་པའི་སྒྲིང་རུམ་དུ། །
རེ་ཞིག་མནལ་བའི་གྱི་པ་སྒྲིང་གསོ་ཕྱིར། །ཏགས་ཙམ་འཛིན་པའི་མྱོངས་བཏུལ་ཀྱི་མ་ལས། །
ལྷུག་བསམ་དག་པས་ཆོས་སྒྱིན་སྒྲིང་དུ་བསྐྱུལ། ༩ །དག་དེས་འཛིན་དེན་འཕྲུལ་ཡུན་བདེ་བའི་
གཞི། །ཁྱུ་བཏན་མོར་བྱའི་སྒྲིང་མེ་འོད་འབར་བས། །སྒྲིང་གསུམ་ཡོངས་ཁྱུ་འགོ་ཀྱི་སྒྲིང་
གཉིས་བསལ། །དོན་གཉིས་ལྷུག་གྱུ་སངས་ཁྱིམ་ལྷུང་ཐོབ་ཤོག། །ཅེས་པའང་ཀྱི་མཁྱེན་རོང་

མཆོག་པོའི་གསུང་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་དཀར་འབྲེལ་འདི་རྒྱལ་བ་དོན་མཆོག་གི་གསུང་དང་དབྱེར་མ་
 མཆོག་པས་རྒྱུད་ལ་བག་ཆགས་འཛིན་ཕྱིར་དང་། སྤྲེའབྱུང་མེས་ཞུགས་ན་མས་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་བའི་བྱང་
 ཆོས་བདེ་སྤྱད་དུ་རྟོགས་རང་ལུགས་སྤྱབ་མཐའི་རྒྱུད་ཆུགས་ཏེ་སྤྲོད་པོའི་བསྐྱེད་པ་དར་རྒྱས་ཡུན་
 གནས་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར་དང་། རང་ཉིད་ཆོ་རབས་ཀྱང་དུ་ཆོས་དང་གང་ཟག་ཆད་མ་འདི་ལྷ་བུས་མེས་སུ་
 བཟུང་ནས་སྤྱུར་དུ་མཛོན་སངས་རྒྱུ་བའི་ཆེད་དུ་དམིགས་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་བསྐྱེད་སྤྱུར་གསལ་འདི་དུས་སྤྱི་
 རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཀྱ་འདི་དང་། འཇམ་དཔལ་མཆོག་བཛོད་འབྲེལ་སྤྱོད་སྤྱུར་གཞི་ལྷན་ཅམ་རང་གིས་ལག་
 བྲིས་སྤྱུ་བུས་ཏེ་སྤྱུར་དུ་བསྐྱེད་ཆོ། བཛོད་བྱང་སྤྱོད་ཆོག་འདི་མཛོད་སྤྱུ་པས་ཀྱང་གྲོལ་ནས་བྲིས་
 པ་དགོ། །བཀྲ་ཤིས་པར་ཤོག། །

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 རྩལ་འབྲེལ་ *A Detailed Commentary on the Guhyagarbha Tantra, Chief Tantra of the*
Mahāyoga Class; abbreviated title in margin: དཀོན་མཆོག་འབྲེལ་; Gangtok, Dodrup
 Sangyay Lama, 1976; 480 pp., 8x37cm; reproduced from a Zhe-chen print edited by
 Zhe-chen rGyal-tshab Padma-rnam-rgyal. 2) In the YDPE, Vol. 1, 597 pp.
- **References to the text in other literature:** 1) In the *Tho yig*, see Appendix A, 1.1. and
 6.1.1.1. 2) In S. G. Karmay's *The Great Perfection*.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**
 This is Rong-zom-pa's extensive commentary of the *Guhyagarbha-tantra*.³⁶³ This
 commentary, which is one of the earliest commentaries on the *Guhyagarbha-tantra*, and
 kLong-chen-pa's commentary *Dispelling Darkness in the Ten Directions* (*Phyogs bcu*
mun sel) are considered two of the most important Tibetan commentaries on this

³⁶³ T 832 / NyGB, Vol. 14, no. 187. The *Guhyagarbha-tantra* is one of the main tantras of the Mahāyoga cycle of the *Nang rgyus sde gsum* and one of the most important tantras of the rNying-ma School (there are over forty commentaries on this tantra and other related works in the *rNying ma bka' ma rgyas pa*). Karmay says (1988, p.139) that the tantra was, according to the rNying-ma tradition, translated into Tibetan in the eighth century. For centuries the authenticity of this tantra was questioned by the adherents of the New Schools, and it was not until the thirteen century that a Sanskrit manuscript of the tantra was found in a column of bSam-yas monastery by bCom-ldan-rig-ral. (According to Powers, p. 328, after the manuscript, which bore notations written by Padmasambhava himself, was found, the tantra was authenticated by bCom-ldan-rigs-pa'i-sangs-rgyas and Sa-skya Paṇḍita and was retranslated by Thar-pa Lo-tsā-ba. It could not, however, have been authenticated by Sa-paṇ because Rig-ral was active after Sa-paṇ's death.) The tantra was also edited and translated into English by G. Dorje in *The Guhyagarbhatattvavivīṣṭayamahātantra and its XIVth Century Tibetan Commentary: Phyogs-bcu mun-sel* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis).

tantra.³⁶⁴ Although this tantra is identified as a Mahāyoga tantra,³⁶⁵ Rong-zom-pa is said to have interpreted it according to the perspectives of Atiyoga.³⁶⁶ The commentary begins with a long introduction. In the introduction, Rong-zom-pa first presents the five tenet systems,³⁶⁷ gives an introduction to tantra in general and includes a short explanation of the nine main elements (*dnegos po dgu*) of the tantra. The body of the commentary follows the pattern of the basic text and deals with each of the twelve chapters of the tantra which are grouped in four sections: the basis for introduction (*gleng gzhi*) which includes the first chapter, the introduction (*gleng bslang*) which includes the second and third chapters, the main body of the tantra (*rgyud kyi dnegos po*) which covers chapters four to twenty-one, and the entrustment of the tantra (*rgyud yongs su gzung ba*) which includes the twenty-second chapter. In the concluding part Rong-zom-pa first gives a brief explanation on the mode of abiding in the great maṇḍala (*dkyil 'khor chen por ji ltar zhugs pa'i tshul*) and then explains the tantra according to the Four Modes and Fifteen Aspects (*tshul bzhi yan lag bco lnga*).³⁶⁸ Mi-pham, in his *sPyi don 'od gsal snying po*, a general commentary to Klong-chen-pa's commentary *Dispelling Darkness in the Ten Directions*, relies very much on this commentary of Rong-zom-pa's.³⁶⁹

This work, unlike most of Rong-zom-pa's works, has an author colophon. There Rong-zom-pa explicitly says: "This was written as a commentary to the *Glorious [Guhya]garbha-[tantra]* by Chos-kyi-bzang-po" (*dpal ldan snying po'i bka' 'grel du//*

³⁶⁴ See, for example, *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*, p. 318, and my introduction, p. 23.

³⁶⁵ There are various classifications of the *Guhyagarbha-tantra*. Klong-chen-pa (see his *sNgags kyi spyi don tshangs dbyang 'brug sgra*, p. 27) classifies it into the category of the General Mind-Tantras (*sPyi'i thugs rgyud*), one of the eighteen great tantra sections (*tantra chen po sde bco brgyad*) of the Mahāyoga cycle, and, according to Zur scholars (see, for example, Lo-chen Dharmashri's *gSang bdag zhal lung*, Vol. 1, p. 113), the tantra is classified separately as the root tantra of the tantra sections. There are, however, also other classifications of this tantra: Klong-chen-pa identifies the *Guhyagarbha-tantra* as the root tantra, next to eight explanatory tantra sections (*bshad rgyud sde brgyad*), of the section of the Illusory Net of Vajrasattva (*rdo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba*) which is one of the four sections of the Illusory Net (*sgyu 'phrul sde bzhi*) according to this division (see *gSang bdag zhal lung*, Vol. 1, p. 113). The Zur scholars, having another classification of the tantras, classify the tantra as the root tantra of the eight Illusory Net Sections (*sgyu 'phrul sde brgyad*), next to the four explanatory tantra sections (*bshad rgyud sde bzhi*) (see *gSang bdag zhal lung*, Vol. 1, p. 133).

³⁶⁶ See, for example, Mi-pham's *sPyi don 'od gsal snying po*, p. 114. There are two traditions of interpretation of the *Guhyagarbha-tantra*: the Zur tradition which interprets the tantra according to Mahāyoga view and the Rong-klong tradition which interprets it according to the view of Atiyoga, that is, the Great Perfection.

³⁶⁷ See note to paragraph c. of the introductory part.

³⁶⁸ See note to "title in colophon".

³⁶⁹ There is no modern work which mainly focusses on this commentary. However, both H. V. Guenther, in his *Matrix of Mystery*, and G. Dorje, in his Ph.D. thesis, take it into consideration and refer to it often.

di ni chos kyi bzang pos byas//). And towards the end of the colophon he says further: "If I was wrong [in my explanations], may it be tolerated by the gods and gurus, and if I was not wrong, I dedicated the virtue [to Buddhahood] for the sake of oneself and others" (*'khrul bar gyur na lha dang bla mas bzod par mdzod// ma 'khrul gyur na dge ba bdag gzhan don du bsngo//*).

This commentary has also a long xylograph colophon written by Padma-kun-grol. The colophon consists of nine verses and a short part in prose. There he states that he himself wrote down ca. 250 folios of the master copies (*spar gzhi*) of some of texts, including this commentary and the commentary on the *Litany of the Names of Mañjuśrī* (*'Jam dpal mtshan brjod 'grel*).

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³⁷⁰ The five tenet systems referred to in this paragraph are those of the five Vehicles: the Vehicle of Gods and Humans (*lha mi*), of the Śravakas (*nyan thos*), the Pratyekabuddhas (*rang rgyal*), of the Bodhisattvas (*byang sems*) and the esoteric unsurpassable Vehicle (*gsang ba bla na med pa*), that is, Mantrayāna.

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³⁷¹ Though Rong-zom-pa comments on each of the twenty-two chapters of the tantra, he does not always use the titles assigned to each chapter in the basic text and instead sometimes uses his own headings. These may be slightly different from the original titles dependent on the points he focuses on. When different, the corresponding titles from the basic text will be given in the notes respectively.

³⁷² *don dam pa dang kun rdzob kyi byang chub sems ye shes su bskyed pa'i le'u*

³⁷³ *chos tham cad gtan la phab pa'i le'u*

³⁷⁴ *yi ge 'phreng ba'i 'khor lo bkod pa'i le'u*

ལས་སྤྱོད་མེད་མཁས་བསྐྱབ་པ་ (5th Chapter ³⁷⁵)	112a ₂ དེ་ནི་
3.3. དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ (6th Chapter ³⁷⁶)	114b ₅ དེ་ནི་
3.4. གསང་ལྔ་གསུམ་ (7th Chapter ³⁷⁷)	117a ₅ དེ་ནི་
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3.8. ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ (11th Chapter)	143a ₄ དེ་ནི་
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3.17. སྤྱིན་ལས་ (20th Chapter ³⁸⁸)	205a ₄ དེ་ནི་

³⁷⁵ *sgyu 'phrul dra ba bsgrub pa'i ting nge 'dzin gyi le'u*

³⁷⁶ *dkyil 'khor spros pa'i le'u*

³⁷⁷ *dkyil 'khor bsdu ba dang gsang sngags kyi le'u*

³⁷⁸ *yan lag thams cad dkyil 'khor du byin gyis brlabs nas phyag rgya spros pa'i le'u*

³⁷⁹ *rdo rje bkod pa'i gsang ba'i dam tshig gi le'u*

³⁸⁰ *dbang sbyin pa'i le'u*

³⁸¹ *tshogs bsgrub pa'i le'u*

³⁸² *mnyes pa'i bstod pa'i le'u*

³⁸³ *khro bo rang bzhin gyi dkyil 'khor spros pa'i le'u*

³⁸⁴ The term *gsang sngags kyi las* refers here to tantric practices as those of the "generation" and "perfection stages" (*bskyed rim* and *rdzogs rim*).

³⁸⁵ *khro bo'i tshogs chen po'i gsung gi dkyil 'khor spros pa'i le'u*

³⁸⁶ Since Rong-zom-pa does not give any title to this chapter but simply explains some passages, I include here the title given in the root text.

³⁸⁷ *mchod sbyin dam pa'i le'u*

³⁸⁸ *lhun gyis grub pa'i 'phrin las byin gyis rlob pa zhes bya ba'i le'u*

3.18. དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ཆེན་པོར་དབྱེས་པའི་སྒྲུ་འདི་སྤངས་པ་

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b. མདོར་བསྟུ་ ³⁹²	211b ₆ མདོར་བསྟུ་...
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Xylograph Colophon	213a ₂ སྒྲིལ་...

TEXT NO. 1-4; fols. 215-222a₆

TITLE:

- **on title page:** མན་ངག་ལྟ་བའི་སྤྱང་བ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** མན་ངག་ལྟ་འཕྱང་
- **in xylograph colophon:** མན་ངག་ལྟ་སྤྱང་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** སྟོབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་པཎ་འབྲུང་གནས་
- **in xylograph colophon:** སངས་རྒྱས་གཉིས་པ་མཚོ་སྒྲིས་ཇི་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 8
 - **Margin notation:** recto of all pages and verso of first page as given above in the general descriptions; verso of pages 2-8: pagination within volume - Padmakāraśāstraṃ.
 - **Illustrations:**
- 215b middle: རྒྱལ་ཀྱན་སྒྲི་གཟུགས་པཎ་འབྲུང་

³⁸⁹ *khro bo la bstod pa'i le'u*

³⁹⁰ *mnyes pa dang yongs su bzung ba'i le'u*

³⁹¹ The Shri-seng edition reads mistakenly *zhugs*.

³⁹² In this summary Rong-zom-pa gives a short explanation of the "four modes" through the "fifteen aspects". See note to "title in colophon".

INCIPIT:

ལྷ་བ་དང་ཐེག་པ་ལ་ཚུགས་པའི་ཁྱད་པར་བསྐྱུས་པའི་བསྐྱུད་བྱང་། བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་འཇམ་
དཔལ་གཞིན་རྒྱ་དང་། རྩི་རྩི་ཆོས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཆལ་ལོ། །འཛིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ཁམས་ན་སེམས་ཅན་ཕྱིན་ཅི་
ལོག་གི་ལྷ་བ་བྱང་ས་མེད་པ་མདོ་རྣམ་པ་བཞིར་འདུས་ཏི། ཕྱལ་པ་དང་། སྤང་འཕེན་དང་། ལྷ་ར་
ཐུག་དང་། ལྷ་སྟེགས་པའོ། །

COLOPHONS:

• Scribe or editor colophon:

སྟོབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་པཎ་འབྲུང་གནས་ཀྱིས་མཛད་³⁹³པའོ། །

• Xylograph colophon:

སངས་རྒྱུས་གཉིས་པ་མཚོ་སྦྱིས་རྩིས། །རྩོན་དུས་འོག་མིན་མཆིམས་ཕུ་རུ། །སྐལ་ལྷན་རྩི་འབངས་
མིན་དོན་དུ། །མན་ངག་ལྷ་ཕྱིང་འདི་གསུངས་སོ། །བསྐྱུར་འགྲོར་ཕན་ཕྱིར་པར་དུ་བསྐྱུར།³⁹⁴ །
དགེའོ།

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:**³⁹⁵ 1) In the SThB, pp. 1-18. 2) In the YDPE, Vol. 1, 21 pp.

SUBJECT MATTER:

• General description:

This work of Padmasambhava is a presentation of the various non-Buddhist and Buddhist tenet systems, and according to Rong-zom-pa (*lTa phreng 'grel*, fol. 223b₃), is a commentary on the thirteenth chapter of the *Guhyagarbha-tantra* which deals with the pith esoteric instructions (*man ngag gi snying po'i le'u*).³⁹⁶ The work contains a brief presentation of the Mundane Vehicles and of the nine Buddhist Vehicles,³⁹⁷ and primarily elucidates the view of the Vehicle of the Great Perfection, i.e., the view that all appearances are primordially pure and therefore the two truths, or saṃsāra and nirvāṇa, are indivisible. After giving a general presentation of the Mundane Vehicles

³⁹³ Text reads *mdzod*.

³⁹⁴ Text reads *bar du bskun*.

³⁹⁵ Other editions of works by other authors will be mentioned here only if printed in other editions of Rong-zom-pa's collected works.

³⁹⁶ On this and other works which, according to Rong-zom-pa, are related to the same chapter, see Karmay 1988, p. 139. The commentary concentrates on the first verse of the thirteenth chapter which presents the various views (p. 55_{ff}):

ma rtogs pa dang log par rtogs//
phyogs rtogs yang dag nyid ma rtogs//
'dul ba dgongs pa gsang ba dang//
rang bzhin gsang ba'i don rnams ni//

³⁹⁷ On the different presentations of the nine Vehicles, see Karmay 1988, pp. 172-174.

and the nine Buddhist Vehicles, he goes on to explain the differences within the views of those tenet systems.³⁹⁸

According to the xylograph colophon (fol. 222a₆), this text was composed by Padmasambhava at mChims-phu for the fortunate king and his subjects (*skal ldan rje 'bangs*) in order to "ripen" [their *karma*] (*smin don du*). According to Rong-zom-pa (ibid., fol. 267a₃), this text, together with *Ma mo gsang ba las kyi thig le*,³⁹⁹ was composed by Padmasambhava in the grassland (*ne'u thang*) of Brag-mar mTsho-mo-'gur on the eve of his leaving Tibet. He spent three nights there and then, at the time of paying his last respects to King Khri-srong-lde-btsan and his subjects, gave these two texts to King Khri-srong-lde-btsan in form of esoteric instructions.

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³⁹⁸ Apart from Rong-zom-pa's commentary on this work (see text no. 1-5) there are several other important commentaries: A gloss commentary by Mi-pham entitled *Man ngag lta phreng gi mchan 'grel nor bu'i bang mdzod* (Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, Leh, 1974, Vol. 73, pp. 1-18; MHTL, No. 3379; NNS, Vol. 71,2; VOHD No. 124.). Mi-pham very much relies on Rong-zom-pa's commentary and uses a topical outline (*sa bcad*) which eases the reading of Rong-zom-pa's commentary. The long commentary (186 fols.) by Kaḥ-thog-pa gTsang-ston rDo-rje-rgyal-tshan (1126-1215) called *Man ngag lta ba'i preng ba'i bshad pa dad ldan rin po che'i snag 'byed* (details of edition unknown) seems to be the most extensive one. Another important commentary is that by 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas (1813-1899) entitled *Man ngag lta ba'i phren ba'i tshig don gyi 'grel zin mdor bsdus pa zab don pad tshal rgyas pa'i nyin 'byed* (in *gDams ngag mdzod*, Vol. 1, pp. 29-84, Delhi, 1977). There is also a translation of this work into English by Karmay (1988, pp. 152-163) along with a critical edition (pp. 163-171), and a dissertation by Ulrich Loseries entitled *Guru padmasambhavas "Instruction 'Die Ketter der Anschauungen'"*, Bonn, 1989.

³⁹⁹ I was not able to locate this text.

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Scribe or Editor Colophon	222a ₅	སྒྲོ་བ་དཔོན་
Xylograph Colophon	222a ₆	སངས་རྒྱལ་

TITLE:

- **on title page:** སློབ་དཔོན་སངས་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་པའི་གསུང་དངོས། །མན་ངག་ལྟ་བུའི་སྤྲོད་བཞེས་
བྱ་བའི་འགྲེལ་པ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** ལྟ་སྤྲོད་འགྲེལ་ ⁴⁰⁰
- **in scribe or editor colophon:** མན་ངག་ལྟ་སྤྲོད་གི་འགྲེལ་བ་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** རྩོམ་པའི་ཏཱ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 45

INCIPIT:

སློབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོའ་པལ་འབྲུང་གནས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྷན་སྤྱིར་གང་ཟག་ངེས་པའི་དོན་ལ་མིས་པར་
མཛུངས་སུ་བྱེད་ཀྱང་། མིས་པའ་དང་དབང་པོའི་བྱེད་བྱ་གིས། བ་དད་པ་ཕལ་མོ་ཆེ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིར་
ཤིན་དུ་⁴⁰¹རྒྱལ་འབྲུང་གི་ཚུལ་ཟབ་མོ་ལ་འཇུག་པར་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར་དང་།

COLOPHONS:

- **Author colophon:**
མན་ངག་གི་ཡི་གེ་འདི་ནི། སློབ་དཔོན་པད་མ་འབྲུང་གནས། བོད་ཡུལ་ནས་སྤར་གཤེགས་ཀྱང་།
བྲག་མར་མཆོ་མོ་འགྱུར་གྱི་ནིའུ་ཐང་དུ་དགུང་གསུམ་གཞིས་ནས། ལྷ་སྤྲུལ་ཁྲི་སྤྲོད་ལྷེ་བཙན་དང་
རྩོམ་པའི་འགྲེལ་ཕྱག་གི་དུས་སུ། འདི་དང་། མ་མོ་གསང་བ་ལས་ཀྱི་ཐིག་ལེ་གཉིས་མཛད་ནས།
ལྷ་སྤྲུལ་ལ་མན་ངག་དུ་གནང་སྟེ་བཞག་པ་ལགས་སོ། །
- **Scribe or editor colophon:**
མན་ངག་ལྟ་སྤྲོད་གི་འགྲེལ་པ་འདི་རྩོམ་པའི་ཏཱ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོས་མཛད་པའོ། ། དགེའོ། །

⁴⁰⁰ Margin of pp. 1-6 read simply *lta phreng*.

⁴⁰¹ Text reads *du*.

- **Xylograph colophon:**

འདིའི་བཅ་དག་རྣམས་ཡིག་རྩིང་ལྟར་མི་ཡམ་རེན་པོ་ཆེས་ཚོགས་ཆེན་གྱི་སང་པར་སྒྲུན་ཞུ་དག་
གནང་སྐབས་ཕྱི་རབས་ལ་མིག་དཔེ་ལྟ་ཕྱིར་སོར་བཞག་མཛད་པ་ལྟར་འདིར་ཡང་གསར་བཅོས་མ་
བྱས་པར་བཞག་པའོ།

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** 1) In the SThB, pp. 19-124. 2) In the YDPE, Vol. 1, 137 pp.
- **References to the text in other literature:** 1) In the *Tho yig*, see Appendix A, 6.1.1.2. and 6.1.2.8. 2) In Mimaki's *Blo gsal grub mtha'*, p. 6. 3) In S. G. Karmay's *The Great Perfection*.

SUBJECT MATTER

- **General description:**
This commentary to Padmasambhava's *Man ngag lta phreng*,⁴⁰² like the basic text, gives a presentation of the different Vehicles, and mainly elaborates on the Great Perfection. Rong-zom-pa compares the Vehicles on the basis of three criteria—view (*lta ba*), meditation (*sgom pa*), i.e., the path, and fruit (*'bras bu*). In the last part he, following the pattern of the basic text, presents the differences in the views of the various tenet systems. According to Karmay (1988, p. 138), Rong-zom-pa's commentary seems to be the earliest commentary on *Man ngag lta phreng*.⁴⁰³
In the xylograph colophon Padma-kun-grol (?) states that he left the old orthography as it was, just as Mi-pham did when he edited the [first] Shrī-seng edition, so that it would serve as an example of the old style for the later generations.

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⁴⁰² See text no. 1-4.
⁴⁰³ For other commentaries, see note 398.

1.4. མུ་སྒྲིགས་པ་	226b ₆ མུ་སྒྲིགས་
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2.2. རྟོ་རྒྱའི་ཐེག་པ་	247a ₃ ད་ནི་
2.2.1. བྱ་བའི་རྒྱུད་	247a ₄ རེ་ལ་
2.2.2. རྣལ་འབྱོར་རྒྱུད་	247a ₅ རྣལ་འབྱོར་
2.2.2.1. ལྟ་བ་	247a ₅ བྱ་རྩལ་
2.2.2.2. སྒྲོམ་པ་	247b ₄ རེ་ལ་
2.2.2.3. འབྲས་བུ་ ⁴⁰⁴	250a ₃ བྱུང་པའི་

⁴⁰⁴ The "fruits" of Kriyātantra (*bya rgyud*) and Caryātantra (*spyod rgyud*), also called Ubhayatantra (*gnyis ka'i rgyud*), are mentioned here briefly in addition to the "fruit" of Yogatantra.

2.2.2.4. རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཕྱི་པ་	250b ₁ རྣལ་འབྱོར་དང་
2.2.2.5. རྣལ་འབྱོར་ནང་པ་	251a ₆ རྣལ་འབྱོར་དང་
2.2.2.5.1. བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཚུལ་	251b ₂ རྣལ་འབྱོར་དང་
2.2.2.5.1.1. ལྟ་བུ་	251b ₃ རྣལ་འབྱོར་དང་
2.2.2.5.1.2. སྒྲིམ་པ་	252a ₃ རྣལ་འབྱོར་དང་
2.2.2.5.2. རྣལ་འབྱོར་པའི་ཚུལ་	252b ₁ རྣལ་འབྱོར་པའི་ཚུལ་
2.2.2.5.2.1. སྒྲིམ་པ་	252b ₁ རྣལ་འབྱོར་པའི་ཚུལ་
2.2.2.5.3. ⁴⁰⁵ བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཚུལ་དང་། རྣལ་འབྱོར་པའི་ཚུལ་སྒྲིམ་པ་དང་། འབྲས་བུའི་ཁྱད་པར་	253b ₂ བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཚུལ་དང་། རྣལ་འབྱོར་པའི་ཚུལ་དང་། རྣལ་འབྱོར་པའི་ཚུལ་སྒྲིམ་པ་དང་།
2.2.2.5.4. རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚུལ་	254a ₅ རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚུལ་
2.2.2.5.4.1. ལྟ་བུ་	254a ₆ རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚུལ་
2.2.2.5.4.2. སྒྲིམ་པ་	255a ₄ རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚུལ་
2.2.2.5.4.3. རྣལ་འབྱོར་པའི་ཚུལ་	257a ₁ རྣལ་འབྱོར་པའི་ཚུལ་
2.2.2.5.4.3.1. རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚུལ་ ⁴⁰⁶	257b ₃ རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚུལ་
2.2.2.5.4.3.2. མཚན་ཉིད་གསུམ་ ⁴⁰⁷	258b ₁ རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚུལ་
2.2.2.5.4.3.3. བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཚུལ་དང་། རྣལ་འབྱོར་པའི་ཚུལ་ ⁴⁰⁸	259a ₃ རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚུལ་
2.2.2.5.4.3.4. རྣལ་འབྱོར་པའི་ཚུལ་དང་། རྣལ་འབྱོར་པའི་ཚུལ་གསུམ་ ⁴⁰⁹	260a ₁ རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚུལ་

⁴⁰⁵ Rong-zom-pa supports here Padmasambhava's view in this matter, namely that the view and fruit of the Generation Stage are similar to those of the Perfection Stage. On this occasion, however, he also sets forth the views of other masters who maintain that the two stages differ not only in regard to their practice but also in regard to their views and "fruits".

⁴⁰⁶ The Four Realisations are considered here as the "mode of object" (*yul kyi tshul*). See the following footnotes.

⁴⁰⁷ The Three Characteristics are considered here as the "mode of skillful means" (*thabs kyi tshul*).

⁴⁰⁸ The Four Branches of Ritual Service and Evocation are considered here as the "mode of fruit" (*'bras bu'i tshul*).

⁴⁰⁹ Each of these four modes of the Great Perfection is subdivided further according to the first three modes:

- 1) The mode of the Four Realisations: *rgyu gcig pa* and *yig 'bru* as the "mode of object"; *byin gyis bslabs* as the "mode of skillful means"; and *mngon sum pa* as the "mode of fruit".
- 2) The mode of the Three Characteristics: *shes pa* as the "mode of object"; *'jug pa* as the "mode of skillful means"; and *'bras bu* as the "mode of fruit".
- 3) The mode of the Four Branches of Ritual Service and Evocation: *bsnyen pa* as the "mode of object"; *nye bsnyen* and *sgrub pa* as "the mode of skillful means"; and *sgrub chen* as "the mode of fruit".
- 4) The mode of the Three Stages of Entering: *mig phye ba* as the "mode of object"; *dkyil 'khor du zhugs pa* as the "mode of skillful means"; and *dngos grub chen po thob pa* as the "mode of fruit".

3. ལྟ་བའི་ཁྱད་པར་	261b ₃ ད་ནི་
3.1. དཀའ་ཐུབ་མེད་པ་ : (ཕུལ་པ་དང་མུར་ཐུག་པ་)	262a ₁ ཇི་ལ་ (2nd)
3.2. དཀའ་ཐུབ་ཡོད་པ་	262a ₂ དཀའ་ཐུབ་
3.2.1. འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་དཀའ་ཐུབ་ : (ཁྱེད་འཕེན་པ་དང་མུ་སྟོགས་པ་)	262a ₃ མེ་ལྷ་
3.2.2. ཉན་ཐོས་ ⁴¹⁰	262b ₄ ཉན་ཐོས་
3.2.3. བྱང་རྒྱུ་སེམས་དཔའ་	264a ₁ བྱང་རྒྱུ་
3.2.4. སྤྲོ་ན་མེད་པ་	265a ₁ གསང་བ་
3.2.5. མདོར་བསྐྱེད་	265b ₂ མདོར་བསྐྱེད་
Conclusion	266a ₄ ཇི་ལྟར་
Author Colophon	267a ₃ མན་ངག་
Scribe or Editor Colophon	267a ₄ མན་ངག་
Xylograph Colophon	267a ₅ འདིའི་བརྩ་

TEXT NO. 1-6; fols. 268-299b₄

TITLE:

- **on title page:** འཕགས་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་གྱི་མཚན་ཡང་དག་པར་བཞེད་པའི་འགྲེལ་པ་རྣམ་གསུམ་བཤད་པ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** མཚན་བཞེད་འགྲེལ་
- **in scribe or editor colophon:** འཕགས་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་གྱི་མཚན་ཡང་དག་པར་བཞེད་པའི་འགྲེལ་པ་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** རྒྱལ་མཚན་
- **in xylograph colophon:** རྩོམ་ཆོས་བཟང་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 32

⁴¹⁰The ascetic discipline of *rang sangs rgyas* is included here.

INCIPIT:

འཕགས་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་གྱི་མཚན་ཡང་དག་པར་བཟོད་པ་ཞིས་བྱ་བ་ལ། འཕགས་པ་འཇམ་
དཔལ་ཞིས་བྱ་བ་ནི། རང་གི་ངོ་བོ་ཇི་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག རིའི་མཚན་ནི་གང་དང་གང་རྣམས་ཡིན། དེ་
ཡང་དག་པར་བཟོད་པ་ནི་ཇི་ལྟར་བཟོད་ཅི་ན།

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**

ཆམ་ཆ་དྲས་མཛད་པའི་འཕགས་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་གྱི་མཚན་ཡང་དག་པར་བཟོད་པའི་འབྲིལ་པའོ།
དགེའོ། །

- **Xylograph colophon:**

སྒྲུལ་ཀྱན་མཁྱེན་པའི་དཔལ་མངའ་བ། འཇམ་དབྱངས་རིང་ཟླ་ཚེས་བཟང་གསུང་། ཆོས་སྤྱིན་
བསྐྱེད་དགེས་འབྲོ་བ་ཀུན། རྣམ་མཁྱེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྷུ་ར་ཐོབ་ཤོག རྣམ་དཀར་བྱེད་པོ་པལྒྱུ་ཀྱན་གྲོལ་
ནས་སྦྱོན་པའོ། །སའ་མཆོལ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** 1) In the SThB, pp. 247-332. 2) In the YDPE, Vol. 1, 95 pp.
- **References to mentions of the text in other literature:** Cf. the *Tho yig*, see Appendix A, 4.1.14.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

This commentary explains the tantra through three aspects (*rnam gsum bshad pa*): 1) The nature of Mañjuśrī, which, according to Rong-zom-pa, is the non-dual primordial gnosis (*gnyis su med pa'i ye shes*). 2) The names of Mañjuśrī. Here, Rong-zom-pa explains how the names of all phenomena become the names of Mañjuśrī. He first presents a common explanation by means of ten different aspects of the names of Mañjuśrī and then a special explanation by means of six other aspects. And 3) The correct modes of reciting the names of Mañjuśrī. Rong-zom-pa presents here three such modes: reciting the names by considering the good qualities (*yon tan gyi don*), by considering the meaning of the mantra (*gsang sngags kyi don*), and by considering the meaning of non-duality (*gnyis su med pa'i don*).⁴¹¹

⁴¹¹ The basic text was edited and translated by R. M. Davidson, *The Litany of Names of Mañjuśrī*, in *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* 20 (1981), pp. 1-69, and by A. Wayman, *Chanting the Names of Mañjuśrī*, Boulder/London, Shambhala, 1985.

- **in author colophon:** འཕགས་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་གྱི་དྲི་རྒྱུ་འཁོར་གྱི་ཚལ་རྒྱས་པ་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in author colophon:** སློབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་གྱི་པའི་དྲི་

TRANSLATOR:

- **in translator colophon:** བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་རིང་ཟམ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 13

INCIPIT:

གྱུ་གར་སྐད་དུ། བཟླ་མཇུ་ལ་བི་རྩི་ཕུ་ཕྱི་རྒྱ་མ་སྒྲ་རྒྱ། བོད་སྐད་དུ། དྲི་རྒྱུ་འཁོར་གྱི་ཚལ་
 རྒྱས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་བསྐྱབ་པའི་ཐབས། འཇམ་པའི་དྲི་རྒྱུ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཆལ་ལོ། སློབ་མེད་ཆོས་སྐྱ་
 ཞི་བ་ལས། ཡུགས་ཤེས་འགྲོ་དོན་ཞི་ཁྲོའི་ཚུལ། རྩོམ་གསུལ་པའི་སྐྱེ་འཆང་བའི། འཇམ་
 པའི་དཔལ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཆལ་ལོ། །

COLOPHONS:

- **Author colophon:**
 འཕགས་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་གྱི་དྲི་རྒྱུ་འཁོར་གྱི་ཚལ་རྒྱས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་སྐྱབ་པའི་ཐབས།
 སློབ་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་གྱི་པའི་དྲི་རྒྱུ་མཇུ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཆལ་ལོ། །
- **Translator colophon:**
 བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་རིང་ཟམ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོས་བསྐྱར་ཅིང་། གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ། མན་ངག་གསེར་གྱི་
 རྩོམ་སྐྱོ། ཡུགས་དོན་གྱི་སྐྱབ་ཐབས་ཡིན་ནོ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** In the YDPE, Vol. 1, 38 pp.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**
 This work of Līlāvajra (*sGeg-pa'i-rdo-rje*) is a *sādhana* of the adamantine maṇḍala which presents the meaning of the mantras of wrathful Mañjuśrī. This was translated by Rong-zom-pa and therefore is included in the *Collected Writings*.⁴¹³ The text explains

⁴¹³ It is not clear why this translation and not others was included in the *Collected Writings*. See also text no. 1-12.

briefly the attributes of the practitioner (*sgrub pa'i gang zag*), identifies suitable places for the practice (*sgrub pa'i gnas*) and explains the stages (*rim pa*) of the method of practice (*sgrub thabs*). The third point makes up the largest part of the text.

- **List of contents:**

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2. གནས་	301a ₁ དེ་བཞིན་
3. ལྷ་བ་ཐབས་རིམ་པ་ ⁴¹⁴	301a ₂ དེ་ནས་
Dedication	312b ₁ འཇམ་དཔལ་
Author Colophon	312b ₂ འཕགས་པ་
Translator Colophon	312b ₃ བོད་ཀྱི་

TEXT NO. 1-8; fols. 313-326a₄

TITLE:

- **on title page:** གསང་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ལྷགས་སྤྱུ་སྤྱུ་གདབ་པ་འཕྲིན་ལས་བཞི་སྟགས་བསྐྱབ་ཚུལ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** སྤྱུ་ཚ་
- **in scribe or editor colophon:** སྤྱུ་ཚ་
- **in supplement scribe or editor colophon:** དག་པོའི་སྤྱུ་ཚ་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or author colophon:** རྒྱལ་མཚན་
- **in supplement's scribe or author colophon:** རྒྱལ་མཚན་

⁴¹⁴ Since I could not find a clear structure in this section, I was not able to further divide it.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 14

INCIPIT:

རྩི་ཐེ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྒྲུ་འཕྲུལ་བྱ་བ་ལས་འབྱུང་ཞིང་གསང་སྤྲལ་གྱི་ལུགས་སུ་སཙ་གདབ་པ་
འཕྲིན་ལས་བཞི་སྤྲལ་སྒྲུབ་ཚུལ། ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་གསང་སྤྲལ་གྱི་ལུགས་སུ་མཆོད་རྟེན་གདབ་པའི་ཚེ་ག།
རྩི་ཐེ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྒྲུ་འཕྲུལ་བྱ་བ་ལས་བྱུང་བ།

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**

ཆམ་མ་བླ་སྤྲལ་མཛད་པའི་སྤྱི་ཚེ། ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་

- **Supplement's scribe or editor colophon:**

ཆམ་མ་བླ་སྤྲལ་མཛད་པ་བྲག་པོའི་སཙ་ཆེ། ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** In the YDPE, Vol. 1, 37 pp.
- **References to the text in other literature:** 1) In the VOHD Bd. XI,5, pp. 196-197. The text is referred to in Mi-pham's colophon of his work on *tsa tsha*: '*Jam dpal gyi sâccha'i la tshogs*. 2) Cf. the *Tho yig*, Appendix A, 5.3.18. and 5.3.18.2.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

This small manual for casting *sâ tstsha*⁴¹⁵ is a presentation according to the tradition of the Mantrayāna and the tradition which evolved out of the Illusory Net of Vajrasattva (*rdo rje sems dpa'i sgyu 'phrul drwa ba*) (see incipit). The manual explains the initial intention, or motivation (*bsam brgyud*) for, the purpose (*dgos pa*) and the significance (*don*) of the casting of *sâ tstsha*, and the materials (*rgyu*) used and the method applied in the casting process (*gdabs thabs*). The largest part of the text deals with the different attainments possible according to the wish of the person practicing (*gang zag gi 'dod pa*).⁴¹⁶ The text is supplemented by another short manual by Rong-zom-pa for casting *sâ tstsha* of wrathful deities (*drag po*).

⁴¹⁵ *Sâstsha* (*sâts tsha*, *tsa tsha* or *tsha tsha*) is a small image, normally in a form of a stūpa or a deity, prepared for the purpose of ritual. Tucci suggests that the word *tsha tsha* derived from the words *sacchāya* or *sacchāha* in Prakrit or *sat-chāya* in Sanskrit which mean "perfect image" or "reproduction". More on the origin of the *sâ tstsha*, its preparation and the various types possible, see Tucci, pp. 53-70.

⁴¹⁶ Mi-pham wrote his work on the preparation of *tsha tshas* of Mañjuśrī according to Rong-zom-pa's presentation of this matter in this work (see VOHD Bd. XI,5, p. 197).

- **List of contents:**

Title	313a
Introduction	313b ₁ རྩེ་
1. བསམ་གྱི་དྲུག་	313b ₄ དེ་ལ་
2. དགོས་པ་	314a ₃ མཚན་རྟེན་
3. རྟོན་	314b ₂ མཚན་རྟེན་
4. གྱུ་	314b ₄ མཚན་རྟེན་
5. གདབ་ཐབས་	314b ₆ གདབ་ཐབས་
5.1. རྩོ་པོའི་བྱེ་བྲག་	315a ₁ དེ་ལ་
5.2. གཞིའི་བྱེ་བྲག་	315a ₂ གཞིའི་བྱེ་
6. གང་ཟག་གི་འདོད་པ་	316a ₄ གང་ཟག་
6.1. ལས་རྒྱུ་པ་བཞི་སྟུག་པ་	317a ₅ ད་ནི་
6.2. འཛིག་རྟེན་དང་འཛིག་རྟེན་ལས་འདས་པའི་དངོས་སྟུག་བསྟུག་པ་	319b ₁ ད་ནི་
6.3. ཚོས་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱས་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་སུ་འགྱུར་བ་	323a ₃ ད་ནི་
6.4. ལས་ཀྱི་སྟེན་པ་གྱུན་གཅོད་པའི་ཐབས་	323b ₁ སེམས་ཅན་
Conclusion	325a ₃ མཚན་རྟེན་
Scribe or Editor Colophon	325a ₆ རྩེ་
Supplement: དྲག་པོའི་སྒྲུ་ཆ་	325a ₆ དྲག་པོའི་
Supplement's Scribe or Editor Colophon	326a ₄ རྩེ་

TEXT NO. 1-9; fols. 327-334b

TITLE:

- **on title page:** རོ་རོ་རི་གཙུག་རྟེན་དང་ཆོ་དཔག་མིད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་མོ་ནས་མཆོད་རྟེན་གདབ་པ་
417
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** མཆོད་རྟེན་གདབ་པ་

⁴¹⁷ The same title appears once more in the incipit.

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** རྩོམ་པའི་ཏ་ཆེན་པོ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios: 8**

INCIPIT:

རྡོ་རྗེ་གཙུག་ཏྲེར་དང་ཆོ་དཔག་མེད་གྱི་ལྷ་རྒྱུད་གྱི་སྒྲིམ་མཆོད་རྟེན་⁴¹⁸གདབ་པའོ། །གང་ཞིག་
 གང་ཟག་ལ་ལ་དག །རྡོ་རྗེ་གཙུག་ཏྲེར་གྱི་ལྷ་རྒྱུད་གྱི་ལྷ་སྐུ་དང་ཕྱག་རྒྱའི་སྒྲིམ་མཆོད་རྟེན་
 གདབ་པས་ཤན་གདགས་པའི་སྦྱོར་བ་ལ་དགའ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དོན་དུ། དེའི་ཆོ་ག་ཅུང་ཟད་བཤད་
 པར་བྱ་གྱི།

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**

འོང་མེད་ཐུག་པའི་ཉེ་ཆེན་པོས་མཛད་པའོ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** In the YDPE, Vol. 1, 21 pp.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

This is a short manual for casting or moulding stūpas by means of the mantras and mūdras of the tantras of rDo-rje-gtsug-tor and Amitāyus (*Tshe dpag med*). After the specific explanation according to each of these tantras, Rong-zom-pa explains the procedure of the ritual in two parts: fire offering (*sbyin sreg*) and recitation (*bzlas brjod*).

- **List of contents:**

Title Page	327a
Title	327b རྩོམ་གསུང་།
1. རྩོམ་གསུང་གི་རྒྱ་བྲིད་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བུ་དང་ཕྱག་སྐྱོའི་སློན་པ་	327b ₁ གང་གིས་ཤེས་པ་།
2. ཆོ་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་བྲིད་ཀྱི་སློན་པ་	329b ₄ ཆོ་དཔག་ཀྱི་སློན་པ་།

⁴¹⁸Text reads *ten*.

⁴¹⁹Text reads *rang*.

3. ཚཱ་ག་	332a ₅ ཇི་ལྟ་
3.1. སྤྱན་སྤྲེག་	332a ₆ དེའི་ཚཱ་
3.2. བཞུས་བཟོད་	333b ₆ གལ་ཏི་
Conclusion	334a ₅ དཔལ་འཇུག་
Scribe or Editor Colophon	334a ₅ རིང་ཟླ་

TEXT NO. 1-10; fols. 335a-335b₆

TITLE:

- **on title page:** རིང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་གདུང་བསྤྲེག་གི་ཚཱ་ག་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** གདུང་བསྤྲེག་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **The title includes the name:** སྤྱ་མ་རིང་ཟླ་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་དཔལ་ཚཱ་གྱི་བཟང་པོ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 1

INCIPIT:

སྤྱ་མ། སྤྱ་མ་རིང་ཟླ་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་དཔལ་ཚཱ་གྱི་བཟང་པོས་མཛད་པའི། རིང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་གདུང་
 བསྤྲེག་གི་ཚཱ་ག། །སེ་འགྲོ་དབང་ཕུག་ཀྱི་མཚཱ་ཅེས་པ། སྤང་རོ་གད་ཁའི་དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་དེ་
 ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཞུས་པའི་ཚཱ་ག་འདི་དག་རིམ་པའི་ཡི་གེ་བྲིས་པ་ལ། སྤྱིར་སྤྱ་མ་བཞི་པ་ཞེས་གྲགས་
 རྒྱུ་ལ། ཡི་གེ་བཅུ་གསུམ་ཡོད་གསུང་། དེ་ཡང་ལུགས་གཉིས་སྤྱ་བྱ་མེ།

COLOPHONS: absent

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** In the YDPE, Vol. 1, 6 pp.
- **References to the text in other literature:** In the *Tho yig*, see Appendix A, 5.3.12. (cf. also 5.3.10.).

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

This short text consists of what seem to be two cremation manuals written by Rong-zom-pa, or rather of fragments of them put together under the general title *Rong lugs kyi gdung bsreg gi cho ga*. The first part is most probably a note made by the editor (?). There it is stated that this series of texts (*rim pa'i yi ge*) was written at the request of Se-'bro dBang-phyug-rgya-mtsho, the "spiritual friend" (*dge ba' bshes gnyen*) of bLang-ro Gad-kha. It further says that although these texts are known as the "fourth guru" (or "four gurus"?) (*bla ma bzhi pa*), there are said to be thirteen texts which represent two traditions. The editor lists then the texts as follows: 1) *bsregs kyi rtsa ba*, 2) *blo bur bag chags sbyang*, 3) *'jug cho ga* which has seven branches (*yan lag bdun pa*), 4) *rig drug bcu ru*, 5) *dgag yig*, 6) *lha ngo bstan*, 7-8) *zan gtad che chung gnyis*, 9) *gcags sbyang*, 10) *lam bstan*, 11) *sa 'phar smon lam*, 12) *smom bshags bya*, 13) *skos gdab*, 14) *'dzab bskul*, 15) *bshags byang bla ma*, 16-17) *skar ma zhi khro'i rnam pa gnyis* and 18) *dkar nag ldang 'dzin*. If one condenses them, he says, there are known to be thirteen texts; in fact, however, there seem to be eighteen of them. These, according to the editor, were written for Zhi-dkar dBul-ston rDor-bsod, and the others (?) for Se-'bro dBang-phyug-rgya-mtsho. This note is followed by two short manuals: "instantaneous (or immediate?) cremation" (*gdung bsreg blo bur ba*) and "a narration of the ritual of the peaceful and wrathful deities" (*zhi khro'i cho ga gzhung bsrang*).⁴²⁰

- **List of contents:**

Title	335a ₁
Editor (?) note	335a ₁ སེའབྱོར་
གདུང་བསྐྱེད་སྒྲིབ་པ་	335a ₆ གདུང་བསྐྱེད་
ཞི་ཁྲོའི་ཆོ་ག་གཞུང་བསྐྱེད་	335b ₄ ཡང་།

TEXT NO. 1-11; fols. 336-338a₂

TITLE:

- **on title page:** ཆེ་མཆོག་གི་སྒྲིམ་ཁྲིག་བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་བཅས་པ་

⁴²⁰ See also appendix A, 5.3.12.

- **Abbreviated title in margin:** ཆེ་མཆོག་སྒྲིམ་བསྟོན་

AUTHOR'S NAME: not mentioned

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 3
- **Special remarks:** A part of the text is missing.⁴²¹

INCIPIT:

མི་གནས་མི་རྟོག་བསམ་དང་བྲལ། མ་ཆགས་ཆགས་བྲལ་ཡུལ་ལས་འདས། །ཅི་ཡང་མི་འབྱུང་
 ཅིར་མ་ཡིན། །རང་འབྱུང་རང་ཞི་བཟླ་དང་བྲལ། །ཡོངས་ལ་ཁུབ་པ་ཉི་མའི་འོད། །སྤྲིང་ཇི་བྱང་
 རྒྱབ་སེམས་ཡིན་དེ། །རྣམ་རྟོག་ལྷན་པ་སེལ་བར་སྤང་། །ཡིད་བཞིན་རིན་ཆེན་འབར་བའོ། །

COLOPHONS: absent

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** In the YDPE, Vol. 1, 9 pp.
- **References to mentions of the text in other literature:** Cf. the *Tho yig*, Appendix A, 5.3.4.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**
 This is a manual for meditation on the Greatest One (*che mchog*), that is, Heruka, along with a eulogy written in verses. Part of the manual, however, is missing (see annotation, fol. 336b₄). The last part of this text consists of another short manual for related rituals.
- **List of contents:**

Title	336a ₁
སྒྲིམ་བསྟོན་	336a ₁ མི་གནས་
Supplement	337a ₆ རང་བཞིན་

TEXT NO. 1-12; fols. 339a-346b₄

TITLE:

- **on title page:** ཞི་བ་འབྱིང་པོ་དང་ཁྱོ་བོ་སྤང་བ་དམ་པ་རྒྱན་གྱི་ལྷགས་རྒྱ་དཔེ་ལ་གདུག་པ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** ཞི་བློའི་ལྷགས་

⁴²¹ See fol. 336b₄.

- **Xylograph colophon:**

ཞི་ཁྱོའི་ལྷ་པྲགས་འདི་ནམས་རྩེ་ཐོམ་པའི་དེ་འགྱུར་ཡིན་མིན་མ་ངེས་ཀྱང་། འཇམ་མགོན་མི་
ཡམ་རིན་པོ་ཆེས་རུ་དམ་གྱི་སིང་རྩེ་ཐོམ་གསུང་འབུམ་དཀར་ཆག་ནང་བཞོད་འདུག་པས་སྙིང་
དོན་ཆེ་བར་ངེས་ནས་འདིར་ཡང་པར་བསྐྱུན་བགྱིས་པའོ། ཡར་ཕྱིས་བྱང་རྟོག་གི་སྤྱོད་བ་དཔལ་
འཛིན་སྐུ་གྱིས་སྤྱོད་འཕུལ་ཞི་ཁྱོ་སྐྱོར་གྱི་དཔེ་མེད་བོད་མ་རེད་ཟེར་བ་སྐུ་གྱི་ལྷག་རྟོག་སེལ་
བའི་དཔང་རྟགས་ཡིན་སྙམ་མོ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** In the YDPE, Vol. 1, 23 pp.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

This text consists of the Sanskrit text which includes the mantras of the peaceful and wrathful deities (*zhi khro'i sngags*) and annotations (*mchan bu*), following each sentence or phrase, in Tibetan.

According to the scribe colophon, this text was written down carefully (*dag par bris*) by a person called Sang-rgyas-bstan-'dzin from Khams from the personal copy of rGyal-sras gZhan-phan-mtha'-yas-'od-zer. In the manuscript colophon it is stated that the latter had copied it from a manuscript of sMin-gling (i.e., sMin-grol-gling monastery) which was based on a master copy (*ma phyi*) prepared by mKhas-grub Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan. This had been copied from a manuscript which was revised and arranged in annotations (*mchan bu*) by the Lo-tsā-ba Nam-mkha'-grags-pa. This had been carried out by him after he had compared the text with the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Guhyagarbha-tantra* and other tantras.

- **List of contents:**

Title Page	339 _a
1. ཞི་བ་	339b ₁ ཨ་སྤྱོད་
2. ཁྱོ་བོ་	342a ₆ ཁྱོ་བོ་
Old Manuscript Colophon	346a ₆ ཞི་ཁྱོའི་
Scribe Colophon	346b ₂ ལྷ་པྲགས་
Xylograph Colophon	346b ₂ ཞི་ཁྱོའི་

ཐེམ་བྱང་ (Table of Contents) fol. [347a₁-b₆]

The table of contents (*them byang*), which is one folio long, begins with a short preface and continues with the list of texts included in volume 1 (fol. 347a_{6ff}). It further gives the number of folios of each text and adds some short remarks regarding the texts when considered necessary.

VOLUME 2

TEXT NO. 2-1; fols. 1-127a₆

TITLE:

- on title page: ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚུལ་ལ་འཇུག་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་
- Abbreviated title in margin: ཐེག་ཚུལ་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- in author colophon: མཁས་པའི་དབང་པོ་རང་བློ་ཆེན་པོ་⁴²³
- in xylograph colophon: རྩེ་བློ་ཆོས་རྒྱུ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- Number of folios: 127

INCIPIT:

ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚུལ་ལ་འཇུག་པ་མདོ་ཙམ་བཞེད་པ། གང་ཟག་གང་དག་འཁོར་བའི་སྐྱེ་མཚོ་
ལས་ཐར་བར་འདོད་ཅིང་། སྤྱི་མེད་པའི་བྱང་ཚུབ་བསྐྱབ་པར་འདོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། ཐོག་མ་
ཁོ་ནར་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་ལ་བརྟག་པར་རིགས་སོ། །

COLOPHONS:

- Author colophon:
མཁས་པའི་དབང་པོ་རང་བློ་ཆེན་པོས་སོ། །⁴²⁴

⁴²³ See note to "Author colophon".

⁴²⁴ Karmay remarks (1988, p. 132, note 60) that "this short but pompous colophon does not sound very convincing". Indeed, it might be a later addition.

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**

ལེའུ་དང་པོ་ཉོན་མོངས་ཀྱི་མཆན་ཉིད། གཉིས་པ་ལ་བཞུལ་ལན། གསུམ་པ་ལ་གན་སྦྱར། བཞི་
པར་རིགས་པས་མི་གཞོད་ཚུལ། ལྔ་པར་རྫོགས་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་གཞུང་། སྟག་པར་བརྟུང་པའི་ཐབས་
བསྟན་པའོ། །སངས་མཆོལྱོ། །ཤུ་གྲི། ། ༩ །

- **Xylograph colophon:**

རྩོམ་དུས་ཀུན་མཁུན་མཆོ་སྐྱེས་ཆེས། སྤྱིད་གསུམ་བདུད་བརྟུལ་ཆོས་འཁོར་བསྐྱེད། རྒྱལ་ས་སྐུ་
 རོང་བོམ་ཆོས་ཆེས་ཀྱང་། ལྷ་སྤྱན་དབང་བཟུང་གསང་བསྟན་གྱིལ། ༡ ལང་གི་རྒྱལ་ས་ཆེའི་
 བཀའ་བྱིན་གྱིས། རྩི་རབས་བོད་ལྷུག་སྐལ་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་ས། རྩེག་བཟུང་སྤོང་རྟོགས་མཐར་ཕྱིན་ནས།
 འོད་གསལ་ཐེག་ཅེའི་ས་མཐོར་གཤེགས། ༢ ལང་ལ་དད་པས་ཆེས་འགྲོ་བ། འདི་ཅག་ལྷ་བདོའི་
 སེམས་ཅན་རྒྱལ་ས། འབྲེལ་ཚད་རྒྱམ་གྲོལ་དབུགས་དབྱུང་ཕྱིད། ལས་ལྷུང་རབ་ཆོས་སྤྱིན་བསྐྱེད་ལ་
 ལུས། ༣ ཅིས་པའང་སློབ་དཔོན་རྒྱམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་བཟུང་གྲལ་མཐར་སྐྱེས་པ་པར་ཀུན་གྲོལ་
 རྒྱམ་རྒྱམ་དཀར་བྱེད་པའི་མོས་སློང་འབྲེལ་སྐྱུག་གིས་བགྱིས་པ་དག། མཆོ་ལྷོ།

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** 1) In the RZKB, pp. 41-335. 2) In the *Commentaries on the Guhyagarbha Tantra and Other Rare Nyingmapa Texts from the Library of Dudjom Rimpoche*, Vol. 1, pp. 223-431, New Delhi, Sanje Dorje, 1974; 27x37cm; reproduced from a old manuscript which, according to Sanje Dorje, most probably differs from the dPal-spungs blocks. 3) In the YDPE, Vol. 2, 381 pp.
- **References to the text in other literature:** In S. G. Karmay's *The Great Perfection*.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

This work is considered to be one of the most important works of Rong-zom-pa,⁴²⁵ and according to Karmay (1988, pp. 125-127), it would seem to be the first work devoted to the defense of the Great Perfection and thus the most important work written in the eleventh century on this matter available to date. Rong-zom-pa, says Karmay, focusses on two points: proving the Sanskrit origin of this doctrine and demonstrating that it cannot be disproven by Buddhist logic. The text is divided into six chapters (*skabs*). In the first chapter, Rong-zom-pa first explains the characteristics of the emotional defilements (*nyon mongs*) according to the different tenet systems and then establishes the view that all phenomena are equal in regard to their illusion-like nature (*chos thams*

⁴²⁵ In his various biographies it is often mentioned that this work had a tremendous impact on other Tibetan scholars and translators of his time such as Go-rub Lo-tsä-ba Chos-kyi-she-sab who, after seeing this work, accepted Rong-zom-pa's learnedness as undisputed (see, for example, *dKar chag*, p. 123-4).

can sgyu ma lta bur 'go mnyam pa). The second chapter is written in the form of "objections and replies" (*brgal lan*) regarding the assertion presented in the first chapter. In the third chapter, he first explains how the ultimate understanding of the illusory nature of all phenomena is accomplished in the view of the Great Perfection (*rdzogs pa chen po'i tshul sgyu ma lta bu mthar phyin pa*), and then makes distinctions (*shan dbye ba*) between the other Vehicles which use the term "illusion". In the fourth chapter, he demonstrates how the view of the Great Perfection cannot be "impaired" or disproven by logical reasoning (*rigs pas mi gnod tshul*). He elucidates his points by relying on treatises on logical reasoning (*rigs pa'i bstan bcos*) and on Sanskrit grammar (*sgra'i bstan bcos*). In the fifth chapter, Rong-zom-pa gives an introduction to the different literature, or doctrines, of the Great Perfection (*rdzogs pa chen po'i gzhung nyid*). The sixth chapter explains the method of continuity (*brgyud pa'i thabs*) through which the Great Perfection can be kept alive, i.e., the meditative practice of the Great Perfection, that is, the methods through which the mind can be "improved" (*sems kyi bcos thabs*). The last part includes concluding remarks written in verses. There it is also mentioned that this work was written for a person called lHa-sgom (*lha sgom don du 'di bgyis te//*) who, according to Karmay, was probably a disciple of Rong-zom-pa.⁴²⁶

• **List of contents:**

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1.1. ཉམ་ཐོས་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་	4a5 དེ་ལ་
1.2. རང་ལྟུང་གི་ཚུལ་	4b3 འཕགས་པ་
1.3. རྣལ་འབྱོར་སྤྱོད་པའི་ཚུལ་	5a4 རྣལ་འབྱོར་
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1.4.2. རོན་[དམ]་ཐམས་ཅད་མེད་པར་མགོ་མཉམ་པ་	9a5 དེ་ནས་
1.4.3. ཀྱན་ཚོབ་ཐམས་ཅད་མགོ་མཉམ་པ་	9b5 དེ་བཞིན་

⁴²⁶ The version used by Karmay reads *lho sgom* (see Karmay 1988, p. 132, note 60). For more details on this work, see *ibid.*, pp. 124-133.

1.5. དབུ་མ་དང་གསང་བ་སྤྲི་མེད་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་	3b ₆ དེ་བས་...
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1.5.5. སྤྱལ་པའི་མཚན་ཉིད་	16a ₁ དེ་ལ་...
1.6. སྤང་བྱ་ཇས་མེད་པར་བསྟན་པའི་དོན་འཇུག་བསྟུ་བ་	17a ₂ འདི་ལྟར་...
2. ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤྱོ་མ་ལྟ་བུར་འགོ་མཉམ་པར་བསྟན་པ་ལ། བཞུལ་	
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2.2. བཞུལ་ལན་[གཉིས་པ་]	22a ₂ ཡང་གཞན་...
2.3. བཞུལ་ལན་[གསུམ་པ་]	24a ₂ ཡང་གཞན་...
2.4. བཞུལ་ལན་[བཞི་པ་]	32b ₃ ཡང་གཞན་...
2.5. བཞུལ་ལན་[ལྔ་པ་]	35b ₂ ཡང་གཞན་...
3. ཇོགས་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚུལ་སྤྱོ་མ་ལྟ་བུ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་པ་དང་། ལྷ་མའི་མིང་	
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3.2. ལྷ་མ་ལྟ་བུ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་པའི་ཆད་	40b ₅ དེ་ལྟར་...
3.3. ཕྱི་ནང་གི་དངོས་པོ་...ཇི་ལྟར་འགོ་སྟོམ་པ་: བཞུལ་བ་	41a ₄ ལྷ་མ་...
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⁴²⁷ Given that the topics of these "objections and replies" (*brgal lan*) are very long, it is not suitable to specify them in this outline. Hence, I indicate them here as first, second, etc. and further follow this procedure in other similar cases.

3.3.1.4. རྣལ་འབྱོར་སྒྲིབ་པ་	44a ₄ རྣལ་འབྱོར་སྒྲིབ་པ་
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3.4. རྟོག་པ་དང་བརྟགས་པའི་མཚན་ཉིད་	49a ₁ རྟོག་པ་
3.5. ལྟ་བུ་འདྲིམ་པ་དང་བཅས་པ་དང་འདྲིམ་པ་དང་གྲུལ་བ་	52a ₄ རྟོག་པ་
3.6. [འཕྲོད་རྟོག་]: སྤྱིངས་ཚད་དང་མཐུན་པའི་ཁྱད་པར་ ⁴²⁸	52b ₂ རྟོག་པ་
3.7. ལྟ་བུ་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་གྲུལ་བའི་རྟོགས་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚུལ་གྱི་ཆེ་བ་ བརྟོག་པ་]	53a ₂ རྟོག་པ་
4. རིགས་པས་མི་གཞི་དུ་ཚུལ་ (4th Chapter)	56b ₁ རྟོག་པ་
4.1. གྲུང་ཆུབ་སེམས་[སྤྱི་བཟུང་བཅོས་ཀྱི་སྒྲིམ་པ་བཤད་པ་]	56b ₆ རྟོག་པ་
4.2. སེམས་དང་གྲུང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན་ཉིད་་་་གཉིས་མེད་པར་་་་དམིགས་པ་ དང་སྤྱང་བ་དང་ངོ་བོ་གསུམ་གྱི་སྒྲིམ་པ་བཤད་པ་]	57a ₄ རྟོག་པ་
4.3. རྣམ་པར་གྲོལ་བ་དང་། རང་གྲུང་ཡི་ཤེས་དང་། གྲུང་ཆུབ་ཅེས་བཟུང་བ་ པའང་། ་་་ངོ་བོ་ཉིད་ནི་དབྱེར་མེད་ཅིང་གཅིག་[པ་ཉིད་དུ་བཟུང་པ་]	58b ₁ རྟོག་པ་
4.4. གཅིག་པ་དང་ཐ་དད་པར་སྐྱབ་པ་དང་དགག་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སྤྱི་བཟུང་བ་ ཚུལ་ཅུང་ཟད་ཅམ་བརྟོག་པ་	60a ₂ རྟོག་པ་
4.4.1. མེད་པར་དགག་པ་དང་། མ་ཡིན་པར་དགག་པ་	60a ₃ རྟོག་པ་
4.4.2. ཡོད་པར་སྐྱབ་པ་དང་། དམིགས་པར་སྐྱབ་པ་ ⁴²⁹	60b ₃ རྟོག་པ་
4.5. སྤྱི་བཟུང་བཅོས་ལས་[དགག་སྐྱབ་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྟངས་མདོ་ཅམ་བཟུང་པ་]	65a ₅ སྤྱི་བཟུང་བཅོས་ལས་
4.6. རིགས་པའི་བཟུང་བཅོས་ལས་རིགས་པ་རྣམས་བཞིན་སྒྲིམ་པ་ དགག་སྐྱབ་བྱེད་ཚུལ་	65b ₃ གཞན་ཡང་།
4.7. དངོས་པོར་སྐྱབ་རྣམས་[ཀྱིས་]དངོས་པོ་སྐྱབ་པ་ན། ཆོས་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ རིགས་པ་དང་མདོན་སུམ་གྱིས་སྐྱབ་པར་བྱེད་[ཚུལ་]	66b ₂ རྟོག་པ་ (1st)

⁴²⁸ Could *mtshu* here mean *rtogs* in the sense of *spangs rtogs*?
⁴²⁹ Here as equivalent to *yin par sgrub pa*.

4.8. [རིགས་པ་དགོས་མིན་ཚུལ་]	68b ₁ འདི་ལྟར་
5. རྫོགས་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་གཞུང་ཉིད་ལ་འཇུག་པར་བྱ་བ་ (5th Chapter)	69a ₄ དེ་ནི་
5.1. རྫོགས་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚུལ་སྟོན་པའི་གཞུང་རྣམས་པ་བཞི་	69a ₄ དེ་ལ་
5.1.1. བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན་བསྟན་པ་	69b ₁ དེ་ལ་
5.1.2. བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་ཀྱི་ཆེ་བ་བསྟན་པ་	69b ₃ བྱང་ཆུབ་
5.1.3. བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་ཀྱི་གོལ་སྤྱིབ་བསྟན་པ་	69b ₅ བྱང་ཆུབ་
5.1.4. བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་ཀྱི་གཞག་ཐབས་བསྟན་པ་	69b ₅ བྱང་ཆུབ་
5.2. རྫོགས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་གཞུང་ཉིད་ལས་འབྱུང་བ་ ⁴³⁰	70a ₂ དེ་ལ་
5.2.1. ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཐིག་ལེ་ཆེན་པོ་གཅིག་གི་ རང་བཞིན་དུ་སངས་རྒྱས་པར་ལྟོའོ་ཞེ་	70b ₃ དེ་ལ་
5.2.2. འབྲུལ་སྤངས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱན་དུ་བཟང་པོའི་རྩལ་པར་ལྟོའོ་ཞེ་	71a ₁ དེ་ལ་
5.2.3. སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཟབ་མོ་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་ཞིང་དུ་ལྟོའོ་ཞེ་	71b ₂ སེམས་ཅན་
5.2.4. སྤྱོད་ཡུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་རང་བྱུང་གི་ཡི་ཤེས་རང་གར་བར་ལྟོའོ་ཞེ་	71b ₄ དེ་ལ་
5.2.5. རྣམ་གྲངས་ཀྱི་སྟོན་སྟེན་བསྟན་པར་བྱ་སྟེ། དེ་ལ་ཆོས་ཐམས་ ཅད་ཆེ་བ་རྣམ་པ་ལྟའི་རང་བཞིན་དུ་སངས་རྒྱས་པར་ལྟོའོ། ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལ།	73a ₅ དེ་ལྟར་
5.2.6. ཐིག་ལེ་ཆེན་པོ་དུག་གི་རང་བཞིན་དུ་སངས་རྒྱས་པར་ལྟོའོ་ཞེ་	74b ₅ དེ་ལ་
5.2.7. གོལ་སྤྱིབ་སུམ་ཅུས་ནི་གོལ་བ་དང་སྤྱིབ་པ་གཅིག་	75b ₃ དེ་ནི་
5.2.7.1. སྤྱིར་བྲགས་པ་ ⁴³¹	75b ₄ སྤྱིར་བྲགས་
5.2.7.2. རྫོང་ཆེ་སེམས་དཔའ་རྣམ་མཁའ་ཆེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་བཤད་པ་	79b ₃ གོལ་སྤྱིབ་
5.2.7.2.1. གོལ་ས་ཉི་ཤུ་ཙ་གསུམ་	80a ₄ དེ་ལ་
5.2.7.2.1.1. བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སྟོང་པོའི་གོལ་ས་གསུམ་	80a ₄ དེ་ལ་
5.2.7.2.1.2. བསམ་གཏན་གྱི་གོལ་ས་གསུམ་	81a ₄ བསམ་གཏན་

⁴³⁰ The following thirteen categories refer only to the first three types of texts mentioned above; the fourth one is explained separately in paragraph 5.3.

⁴³¹ This generally known subdivision of the obscurations (*sgrib pa*) and deviations (*gol ba*) into thirty is as follows: Each of the lower six Vehicles (*lha mi*, *nyan thos*, *rang sangs rgyas*, *byang chub*, *bya rgyud* and *spyod rgyud*) is obscured in regard to each of the four yoga Vehicles (*rnal 'byor rgyud*, *mahāyoga*, *anuyoga* and *atiyoga*) which makes twenty-four. Each one of the three lower Yoga Vehicles is obscured in regard to the higher ones which makes another six.

5.2.7.2.1.3. ཚེས་ཉིད་ལམ་གྱི་གོལ་ས་བཞི་	82b ₂ ཚེས་ཉིད་
5.2.7.2.1.4. ཡི་ཤེས་ཆེན་པོ་བདེ་བའི་རྣམ་པ་ལ་ཆགས་པའི་གོལ་ས་གཅིག་	84b ₃ ཡི་ཤེས་
5.2.7.2.1.5. རེ་སྒྲོན་གྱི་མཐའ་ལ་གནས་པའི་གོལ་ས་གཉིས་	85a ₁ རེ་སྒྲོན་
5.2.7.2.1.6. ལུང་གི་གོལ་ས་གསུམ་	85b ₃ ལུང་གི་
5.2.7.2.1.7. རྒྱུའི་གོལ་ས་གཅིག་	86b ₂ རྒྱུ་འི་
5.2.7.2.1.8. ཉིང་འཛིན་ཐོབ་པ་འབྲས་བུའི་གོལ་ས་གསུམ་	86b ₄ ཉིང་འཛིན་
5.2.7.2.1.9. ཚེས་ཀྱི་གོལ་ས་གསུམ་	87a ₆ ཚེས་ཀྱི་
5.2.7.2.2. སྦྱིབ་པ་བདུན་	88a ₅ སྦྱིབ་པ་
5.2.7.2.2.1. བསྦྱིབས་པའི་སྦྱིབ་པ་གསུམ་	88a ₅ བསྦྱང་པའི་
5.2.7.2.2.2. ནད་ཀྱིས་ཟེན་པའི་སྦྱིབ་པ་གསུམ་	90a ₁ ནད་ལ་འབྱོར་
5.2.7.2.2.3. ལུང་སྒྲོ་སྒྲུར་ཀྱིས་ཟེན་པའི་སྦྱིབ་པ་གཅིག་	90a ₄ བྲ་མ་
5.2.8. ཡིན་པ་རྣམ་པ་གསུམ་གྱིས་ནི་ཐེ་ཚོམ་གྱི་གཤགས་བསལ་	90b ₄ ཡིན་པ་
5.2.9. གདིང་ཆེན་པོ་གསུམ་གྱིས་ནི་དགོངས་པའི་དིང་གཅད་	91a ₁ དེ་ལ་
5.2.10. མན་ངག་གི་རྩ་བ་གསུམ་གྱིས་ནི་མན་ངག་གི་གཞི་གཟུང་	91a ₅ དེ་ལ་
5.2.11. བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཐིག་ལེ་ཆེན་པོ་གཅིག་གིས་ཤེས་བྱ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་གདར་གཅི་ལྟར་གཅད་ཅེ་ན།	91b ₃ དེ་ལ་
5.2.12. ཐམས་ཅད་ནས་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ་སངས་རྒྱས་པ་མེད་པའི་ཆེ་བས་ནི་ལ་བཞི་	91b ₅ ཐམས་ཅད་
5.2.13. དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་དོན་དང་ལྡན་པའི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་གྱི་སྦྱིས་བྱ་རྣམས་ནི། ཀུན་དུ་བཟང་པོ་དབྱེ་བ་མེད་པའི་ས་ལ་ལྷན་ཀྱིས་གནས་པ་ཡིན་དེ།	91b ₆ དེ་ལྟ་
5.3. བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་ཀྱི་གཞག་ཐབས་	92a ₆ ད་ནི་
5.3.1. མདོར་བསྡུས་དེ་བཞུག་པ་	92a ₆ དེ་ཡང་
5.3.1.1. ཤེས་བཞིན་དང་ཤེས་བཞིན་ཆེན་པོའི་བྱེ་བྲག་	92b ₂ དེ་ལྟར་
5.3.1.1.1. ཤེས་བཞིན་	92b ₂ དེ་ལ་
5.3.1.1.2. ཤེས་བཞིན་ཆེན་པོ་	93b ₁ དེ་ལ་
5.3.1.2. ཤེས་བཞིན་རྣམ་པ་གཉིས་	93b ₅ ཤེས་བཞིན་

5.3.1.2.1. བཏང་སྒྲིམས་	93b ₅ དེ་ལ་
5.3.1.2.2. བཏང་སྒྲིམས་ཆེན་པོ་	94a ₂ དེ་ལ་
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Epilogue [མཇུག་རྩམས་]	126a ₆ ཚས་རྒྱམས་
Author Colophon	127a ₂ རྒྱལ་པའི་
Scribe or Editor Colophon	127a ₂ ལཱ་དང་
Xylograph Colophon	127a ₃ རྩོན་དུས་

TITLE:

on title page: གསང་ལྔགས་དྲི་ཐེ་ཐེག་པའི་ཚུལ་ལས་སྒྲུང་བ་ལྟར་བསྐྱབ་པ་

Abbreviated title in margin: ལྟར་བསྐྱབ་

in scribe or editor colophon: སྒྲུང་བ་ལྟར་བསྐྱབ་ཆེན་པོ་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

in scribe or editor colophon: རྣམ་ཐང་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

Number of folios: 11

INCIPIT:

གསང་ལྔགས་དྲི་ཐེ་ཐེག་པའི་ཚུལ་ལས། འཇིག་རྟེན་དང་འཇིག་རྟེན་ལས་འདས་པའི་ཆོས་ཐམས་
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COLOPHONS:

Scribe or editor colophon:

སྒྲུང་བ་ལྟར་བསྐྱབ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིས་བྱ་བ་རྣམ་ཐང་པ་མཛད་པའོ། །དགེ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

Other editions: 1) In the RZKB, pp. 337-359. 2) In the SThB, pp. 125-151. 3) In the YDPE, Vol. 2, 31 pp.

References to the text in other literature: 1) Cf. the *Tho yig*, Appendix A, 7.4. 2) In G. Smith's *Tibetan Catalogue*, Vol. 2, p. 200. This work, he says, deals with the essentials of the *utpattikrama* according to the rNying-ma teachings. The print he refers to is most probably from an edition of the collected works of Rong-zom-pa which was printed in sDe-dge-par-khang Chos-mdzod-chen-mo.⁴³²

SUBJECT MATTER:

General description:

This work deals with the establishment of appearances as deity in an argumentative way by applying the method of "objections and replies" (*brgal lan* or *dri lan*). Rong-zom-pa uses here the four reasonings (*rigs pa bzhi*)⁴³³ and the illustration of the different

⁴³² Cf. introduction p. 20.

⁴³³ The four reasoning (*rigs pa bzhi*) used here by Rong-zom-pa are 1) the reasoning of reality (*chos nyid*) from the aspect of the nature (*ngo bo*), 2) the reasoning of the performer (*bya ba byed pa*) from

perceptions of water by the various types of living beings. This concept of establishing all appearances as deities is rooted in the unique view of the rNying-ma tradition that all appearances are primordially enlightend. This work of Rong-zom-pa is considered to be the earliest and one of the most important works on this matter.⁴³⁴

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the aspect of the cause (*rgyu*), 3) the dependent reasoning (*lto pa*) from the resultant aspect (*'bras bu*) and 4) the reasoning which establishes the validity (*'thad pa bsgrubs pa*) of the first three. For further details, see, for example Mi-pham's *mKhas 'jug*, pp. 486ff., Mi-pham's commentary to *Madhyamakālamkāra*, *dBu ma rgyan gyi rnam bshad 'jam dbyangs bla ma dgyes pa'i zhal lung*, pp. 344ff., Si-khron Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 1992 and Mi-pham's *Don rnam par nges pa shes rab ral gri mchan bcas* in *mKhas 'jug*, pp. 31-62.

⁴³⁴ See also introduction, p. 22.

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Scribe or Editor Colophon	138a ₄ སྤང་བ་...

TEXT NO. 2-3; fols. 139-160b₃

TITLE:

- on title page: ལྷ་བའི་བཟླེད་བྱང་ཆེན་མོ་
- Abbreviated title in margin: ལྷ་བའི་བཟླེད་བྱང་
- in scribe or editor colophon: ལྷ་བའི་བཟླེད་བྱང་ཆེན་པོ་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- in scribe or editor colophon: ཆམ་ཟླ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- Number of folios: 22

INCIPIT:

སྤྱིར་གང་ཟག་ནམས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་བའི་བྱེ་བྱག་ལ། བྲ་པ་སྤྱུབ་པར་འདོད་པ་དང་མི་འདོད་པ། ཞེས་
གྲགས་པ་དང་། འཛིག་རྟེན་ཡལ་པ་དང་། བསྟན་ཆོས་ཀྱིས་སློབ་སྦྱར་བའི་ལྷ་བ། ཞེས་གྲགས་པ་
ཡང་ཡོད། རྟངས་པ་སངས་རྒྱུས་པས་བརྟགས་པ། འཛིག་རྟེན་པའི་ལྷ་བ་དང་། འཛིག་རྟེན་ལས་
འདས་པའི་ལྷ་བ་ཞེས་གྲགས་པ་ཡང་ཡོད་ན།

COLOPHONS:

- Scribe or editor colophon:

ལྷ་བའི་བྱེ་བྱག་ཇོགས་སོ། ། ལྷ་བའི་བཟླེད་བྱང་ཆེན་པོ་ཞེས་གྲགས་པ་ཆམ་ཟླ་བླ་མ་མཛད་པའོ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- Other editions: 1) In the SThB, pp. 187-246. 2) In the YDPE, Vol. 2, 65 pp.

- **References to the text in other literature:** 1) In the *Tho yig*, see Appendix A, 6.1.1.4.
2) In Mimaki's *Blo gsal grub mtha'*, p. 6.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

In this "memorandum" of the views, Rong-zom-pa classifies the views into two categories: views that have not been influenced by teachers and doctrines (*bshes gnyen dang bstan bcos kyis blo ma bsgyur ba'i lta ba*), that is, the views of ordinary wordlings (*'jig rten phal pa*), and views which are influenced by teachers and doctrines (*bshes gnyen dang bstan bcos kyis blo bsgyur ba'i lta ba*), including both non-Buddhist and Buddhist views. After a short explanation of the first category and of the non-Buddhist views in the second category, Rong-zom-pa explains in detail the different Buddhist views including those of the Śravakas (*nyan thos*), of the Mind-Only (*sems tsam*) and of the Madhyamaka (*dbu ma*) schools, clarifying those of Mantrayāna in general and of the Great Perfection (*rdzogs pa chen po*) in particular. After presenting each of the Buddhist tenet systems separately, he goes on to explain the aspects common to all of them and the differences between them. In the last part, he discusses the reasoning through which these views are negated or established (*dgag sgrub kyi rigs pa*).

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2. བཤེས་གཉེན་དང་ལྷུང་གིས་བསྐྱར་བའི་ལྟ་བ་	140b ₆ བཤེས་གཉེན་...
2.1. ཕྱི་རྣམས་ལྟ་སྤྲུགས་ཅན་	140b ₆ རེ་ལ་...
2.2. རྣང་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་པ་	142a ₆ ལྟ་བ་...
2.2.1. སངས་རྒྱས་པ་རྣང་གི་བྱེད་བྱ་གྲུ་ལྟ་བའི་དབྱེ་བ་མདོར་བསྐྱར་ཏེ་ བསྐྱར་པ་ ⁴³⁵	143b ₆ རེ་ལས་...

⁴³⁵ The differentiation of the views given in this paragraph refers to the differences between the various schools regarding the existence or non-existence of entities or things (*dnagos po*).

2.2.1.1. ཉན་ཐོས་	143b ₆ ཉན་ཐོས་
2.2.1.2. རྣལ་འབྱེད་	145b ₄ རྣལ་འབྱེད་
2.2.1.3. དབུ་མ་	145b ₅ དབུ་མ་
2.2.1.4. གསང་ལྔགས་	145b ₆ གསང་ལྔགས་
2.2.2. སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་གསུངས་པའི་ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་རོ་གཅིག་ཅིང་	
ཚུལ་གཅིག་པ་	146a ₁ གཞན་ཡང་།
2.2.2.1. ཉན་ཐོས་	146b ₁ ཉན་ཐོས་
2.2.2.2. རྣལ་འབྱེད་	146b ₅ རྣལ་འབྱེད་
2.2.2.3. དབུ་མ་	147a ₃ དབུ་མ་
2.2.2.4. གསང་ལྔགས་	147b ₅ གསང་ལྔགས་
2.2.2.5. རྩོགས་ཆེན་	148a ₄ ཐམས་ཅད་
2.2.2.6. [མདོར་བསྡུས་]	148b ₁ རྣལ་འབྱེད་
2.2.3. [མདོར་བསྡུས་]	149a ₂ ལྟ་བུ་
2.2.4. སངས་རྒྱལ་པ་ནང་གི་བྱེད་པ་མེད་པ་ལྟར་ཅད་བཟོས་པ་	149a ₅ རྣལ་འབྱེད་
2.2.4.1. ཉན་ཐོས་དང་། རང་སངས་རྒྱལ་དང་། ཐམས་ཅད་ཆོས་པོ་རྣམས་	
ཀྱི་ལྟ་བུ་དང་ཉིང་ངེ་འཛིན་དང་། སྤོང་ཆད་གསུམ་གྱི་བྱེད་པ་མདོར་བསྡུས་	149b ₄ ཉན་ཐོས་
2.2.4.2. འདི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཉིང་ངེ་འཛིན་གྱིས་མཐུའི་བྱེད་པ་	150a ₅ གཞན་ཡང་
2.2.4.3. རང་སངས་རྒྱལ་	150b ₂ རང་སངས་
2.2.4.4. རྣམ་པར་རིག་པ་ཅམ་དུ་སྒྲུབ་	150b ₄ རྣམ་པར་
2.2.4.5. སངས་རྒྱལ་པའི་འདོད་པ་སྤྱིར་བསྡུ་	151b ₆ སངས་རྒྱལ་
2.2.4.5.1. ཉན་ཐོས་	151b ₆ ཉན་ཐོས་
2.2.4.5.2. སེམས་ཅམ་	152a ₄ སེམས་ཅམ་
2.2.4.5.3. དབུ་མ་	152b ₅ རྩོགས་
2.2.4.5.3.1. མདོ་སྤྱི་དབུ་མ་	153a ₁ རྣལ་འབྱེད་
2.2.4.5.3.2. རྣལ་འབྱེད་སྤྱིར་པའི་དབུ་མ་	153b ₃ རྣལ་འབྱེད་
2.2.4.5.3.3. དབུ་མའི་ལྟ་བུ་མདོར་བསྡུ་	154b ₅ དབུ་མའི་

2.2.4.6. གསང་པྲགས་	155a ₄ ད་ནི་...
2.2.5. ལྷ་བའི་བྱི་བྲག་དེ་དག་གི་དགག་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱི་རིགས་པ་ཅུང་ཟད་བཟོད་པ་	157b ₃ ད་ནི་...
2.2.5.1. ཉན་ཐོས་	157b ₃ ཉན་ཐོས་...
2.2.5.2. སེམས་ཙམ་	159b ₆ སེམས་ཙམ་...
2.2.5.3. དབྱ་མ་	160a ₆ དེ་བཞིན་...
Scribe or Editor Colophon	160b ₃ ལྷ་བའི་...

TEXT NO. 2-4; fols. 161a₁-165b₆

TITLE:

- **at the beginning:** གྲུབ་མཐའ་སོ་སོའི་བདེན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འཛིག་ཚུལ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** བདེན་གཉིས་འཛིག་ཚུལ་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in author (?) colophon:** རྒྱལ་མཚན་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 5

INCIPIT:

སངས་རྒྱུས་པའི་གནས་ལུགས་ལ། སེམས་ཙམ་གྱི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་འཛིན་པ་རྣམས། སྐྱེ་དང་ཡི་ཤེས་
 ཀྱི་བཀོད་པ་ཡོད་པར་འདོད་པ་ནི། རང་གི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་རྣམ་པ་དང་བཅས་པའམ། རྣམ་པ་མེད་
 པའི་ཚུལ་དང་མཐུན་པར་འཛིན་པ་ཡིན་པས། སངས་རྒྱུས་པ་ལ་ཚུད་གཞི་མེད་དེ།

COLOPHONS:

- **Author (?) colophon:**
 རྒྱལ་མཚན་སྟེ།

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** In the YDPE under the general title *gSung thor bu* (no separate title), Vol. 2, pp. 1-17.
- **References to the text in other literature:** Cf. the *Tho yig*, Appendix A, 6.1.2.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

In this small work, Rong-zom-pa discusses the two truths as interpreted by the tenet systems of the Mind-Only and Madhyamaka schools. In his discussion, he explains and establishes the two truths by relying on treatises dealing with Sanskrit grammar and epistemology (*sgra and tshad ma'i bstan bcos*).

- **List of contents:**

Title	161a ₁
Introduction	161a ₁ སངས་བྱུང་།
1. རྟོན་གྱི་རིགས་པ་: གཏན་ཆོག་སྐྱེས་པར་བཤད་པ་	162a ₃ གཏན་ཆོག་སྐྱེས་པ་
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1.1. གཏན་ཆོག་སྐྱེས་པར་བཤད་པ་གྱི་སྐོར་མཚན་ཉིད་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་	
གཏན་ཆོག་སྐྱེས་པ་	162a ₃ ལ་ལ་།
1.2. ཚུལ་བཞིན་སྐྱོན་སྐྱེས་པར་བཤད་པ་	163a ₁ རྟོན་པ་
1.3. སངས་བྱུང་པའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་ལྟར་བཤད་པ་	163b ₅ གཏན་ཆོག་སྐྱེས་པ་
2. སྐྱེས་པའི་ཚུལ་གྱི་རྟོན་	165a ₁ སྐྱེས་པའི་ཚུལ་ལྟར་
Author (?) colophon	165b ₆ རྟོན་པ་

TEXT NO. 2-5; fols. 166-182a₂

TITLE:

- **on title page:** ལྷ་འབྲས་ཀྱི་ཐེག་པའི་བྱི་བྲག་ཆེན་མོ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** ཐེག་པའི་བྱི་བྲག་
- **in scribe or editor colophon:** ཐེག་པའི་བྱི་བྲག་ཆེན་མོ་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- in scribe or editor colophon: རྩོམ་ཁྱེད་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 17

⁴³⁶Text reads *tshig*.

INCIPIT:

དུས་དེང་སང་གི་གང་ཟག་རྣམས་སྐུལ་བའི་བཀའ་རྣམས་ལ་ཐོས་པ་དོན་དུ་གཉེར་གྱང་དེ་དག་གི་
དོན་གྱི་བསམ་པ་ཀུན་དོན་དུ་གཉེར་བར་མ་ལྷོགས་པ་དང་། གང་ལ་གོམས་པ་དེ་ཡི་གཞུང་བཟུང་
ནས་གཞན་གྱི་དོན་མ་མཐོང་བཞིན་དུ་རང་གི་ཉམས་དང་སྤྱར་ནས་སློང་དོགས་པ་དང་། སྐྱར་པ་
འདིབ་པར་འགྱུར་ཤི། །

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**

ཐེག་པའི་བྱི་བྲག་ཆེན་པོ། རྣམ་ཐོས་སྤྲས་མཇུག་པ་ཚོགས་སོ། །མི་སྤེལ་ལོ། ||

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** 1) In the RZKB, pp. 361?-409. 2) In the YDPE under the general title *gSung thor bu* (no separate title), Vol. 2, pp. 18-60.
- **References to the text in other literature:** Cf. the *Tho yig*, Appendix A, 7.1.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

In this work, Rong-zom-pa presents the differences between the Causal Vehicle (*rgyu'i theg pa*) and the Resultant Vehicle (*'bras bu'i theg pa*) on the basis of the different names (*mtshan*) used to describe these two Vehicles. The most elaborate explanation is that regarding the names "Great Vehicle" (*theg pa chen po*), referring to the Mahāyāna, and "Greater than Great Vehicle" (*chen po yang chen po*), referring to the Mantrayāna, where the differences are made on the basis of the degree of "greatness". Rong-zom-pa lists seven aspects through which the "Great Vehicle" excels the Vehicle of the Śravakas and four aspects through which the "Greater than Great Vehicle" excels both. These four aspects are: 1) great aim (*dmigs pa chen po*), 2) great attainment (*bsgrub pa chen po*), 3) great "action" of the primordial gnosis (*ye shes kyi las chen po*) and 4) great methods (*thabs chen po*). Among these, the most elaborate explanation is that on the methods. Rong-zom-pa names four reasons for the greatness of the methods of the Mantrayāna: They are 1) quick (*thabs nyur ba*), 2) easy (*thabs sla ba*), 3) skillful (*thabs mkhas pa*) and 4) numerous (*thabs mang ba*). Whereas the first point is explained in detail, the other three are only mentioned briefly.

• **List of contents:**

Title Page	166a
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1.1.4. སྒྱུ་དང་འབྲས་བུའི་ཐོག་པ་	169a ₁ ཡང་སྒྱུ་...
1.1.5. ཐོག་པ་ཆེན་པོ་དང་། ཆེན་པོ་ཡང་ཆེན་པོ་	169a ₅ ཡང་ཐོག་...
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1.1.5.2.2. བསྐྱབ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་	171a ₃ འདི་དག་...
1.1.5.2.3. ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ལས་ཆེན་པོ་	171a ₆ དེ་ལ་...
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1.1.5.2.4.1.1.1.1.4. ཆོས་བདག་མེད་པ་ལ་ངང་གིས་འདུག་ཚུལ་	173a ₂ དེ་ལ་
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1.1.5.2.4.1.3.2. དབང་ཐོབ་ནས་སངས་མ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་	178b ₅ གཉིས་པ་
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1.1.5.2.4.1.3.3.2. གནས་འགྱུར་བའི་ཆོས་ཀུན་ནས་གྱུར་པ་	179a ₆ ཡང་གཟུགས་
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1.1.5.2.4.2. ཐབས་སྒྲིབ་	181a ₅ དེ་ལ་ (1st)
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Conclusion	181b ₁ དེ་ལ་
Dedication	181b ₆ འདི་དག་
Scribe or Editor Colophon	182a ₁ ཐེག་པ་

TEXT NO. 2-6; fols. 183-185b₅

TITLE:

- **on title page:** གསང་ཕྱགས་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་མཚན་པ་དང་། བསྐྱེད་བའི་རྣམ་བཤད་མདོར་བཟུས་པ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** མཚན་བསྐྱེད་

AUTHOR'S NAME: not mentioned

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 3

INCIPIT:

དེ་ལ་མཚན་པ་འབྲུལ་བ་ལ་དོན་གསུམ་སྟེ། ཕྱི་ནང་གསང་བའོ། །དེ་ལ་ཕྱི་ལོ་ཡང་གཉིས་ཏེ།
 དེ་ལ་ཕྱི་ལོ་ཕྱི་དབང་དུ་མཚན་པའི་སྒྲིན་ཕུང་རབ་འབྲུམས་སྒྲ་ན་མེད་པར་བཟུས་ཏེ་མང་བ་ནི་
 སེམས་ཀྱི་སྒྲུབས་ཀྱིས་སོ། །

COLOPHONS: absent

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** 1) In the RZKB, pp. 410-417. 2) In the YDPE under the general title *gSung thor bu* (no separate title), Vol. 2, pp. 61-69.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**
 This work is a short exposition on offering (*mchod pa*) and "liberating" (*bsgral ba* or *sgrol ba*) according to the tradition of the Mantrayāna. Rong-zom-pa explains here the meaning of offering and differentiates between three meanings—outer (*phyi*), inner (*nang*) and secret (*gsang ba*). While discussing "liberating", he differentiates between

common (*thun mong*) and uncommon (*thun mong ma yin pa*) "liberating", and while explaining the latter, he mentions "liberating" of oneself from saṃsāra (*'khor ba*) and inferior births (*ngan song*) through realisation (*rtogs pas bdag sgrol ba*) and "liberating" of others through compassion (*thugs rjes gzhan sgrol ba*).

- **List of contents:**

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1. མཚན་པ་	183a ₁ རེ་ལ་
2. རྒྱལ་བ་	184b ₁ རྒྱལ་བ་

TEXT NO. 2-7; fols. 186-195b₃

TITLE:

- **on title page:** གསང་པུགས་ལམ་གྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་མདོར་བསྡུས་པ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** པུགས་ལམ་མཚན་ཉིད་
- **in scribe or editor colophon:** ལམ་གྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** རྒྱལ་བ་ལྷ་པོ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 10

INCIPIT:

གསང་པུགས་ཀྱི་སྒྲོར་ཞུགས་པའི་གང་ཟག་ནམས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེད་ལ་ལམ་ཇི་ལྟར་སྐྱེ་བའི་ཚུལ་བསྟན་པ་ནི།
 སྐྱེར་ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ལམ་གྱི་དངོས་པོ་ཐབས་དང་ཤེས་རབ་ཟུང་དུ་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡིན་ཡང་། གསང་
 པུགས་ཀྱི་གཞུང་ཕལ་མོ་ཆེ་ནས། ལམ་གྱི་དངོས་པོ་བསྟན་སྐྱབ་ཀྱི་བྱེད་བྱ་ཡིན་པར་གྲགས་དེ།

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**

ལམ་གྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་ཇོགས་སོ། ། རྒྱལ་བ་ལྷ་པོས་མཛད་པའོ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** 1) In the RZKB, pp. 418-438. 2) In the YDPE under the general title *gSung thor bu* (no separate title), Vol. 2, pp. 70-95.

- **References to the text in other literature:** Cf. the *Tho yig*, Appendix A, 6.2.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

Rong-zom-pa discusses here the tantric paths from three perspectives: the characteristics of the path (*lam gyi mtshan nyid*), the stages of the path (*lam gyi go rim*) and the mode of the generation of the path (*lam skye ba'i tshul*). Regarding his explanation of the third point, he says that one should know that it comprises all the modes of the generation of the path of all the doctrines of the Mantrayāna (fol. 195b₂₋₃).

- **List of contents:**

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1.2. [གནས་པ་གསུམ་གྱི་]ཕྱིན་ཆུབས་	187b ₃ ཕྱིན་ཆུབས་
1.3. [གནས་པ་གསུམ་གྱི་]ཡུལ་	188a ₅ དེ་ལ་
1.4. [གནས་པ་གསུམ་གྱིས་]བསྐྱབ་པའི་འབྲས་བུའི་མཚན་ཉིད་ : ཐོབ་པ་གསུམ་	189a ₁ དེ་ལ་
2. ལམ་གྱི་སྒོ་རིམ་	191a ₆ ད་ནི་
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3.2. རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཐོན་དུ་སོང་བ་རྣམས་[གྱི་ཚུལ་]	193a ₅ རྣལ་འབྱོར་
3.3. བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཀྱི་སྒྲིབས་ཐོན་དུ་འགོ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་	193b ₄ དང་པོར་
Scribe or Editor Colophon	195b ₃ ལམ་གྱི་

⁴³⁷ The three "abidings" (*gnas pa gsum*) referred to here are *dka' thub dang brtul zhugs kyi sdom pa dang*, *bzlas brjod dang*, *bsam gtan la gnas pa*.

TITLE:

- **on title page:** མདོ་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་མཐུན་མི་མཐུན་མདོར་བཟུས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱེད་བྱང་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** མདོ་ལྷགས་གྲུབ་བཟུས་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** རྣམ་མ་ལྷ་བླ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 3

INCIPIT:

ཕུང་པོ་དང་ཁམས་དང་སྐྱེ་མཆིད་ཀྱིས་བཟུས་པའི་ཆོས་འདི་དག་ལ། གསང་ལྷགས་དོ་ཤེ་ཐེག་པའི་
གཞུང་དང་། མཚན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་མཐུན་པ་དང་མི་མཐུན་པ་རྣམས་མདོར་
བཟུས་ནས་བསྐྱེད་བྱང་དུ་བྱས་པ། དེ་ལ་ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་དོན་དམ་པར་སྤྱོས་པ་དང་བྲལ་བར་
འདོད་པ་དང་། ཀུན་རྫོབ་སྤྱུ་མ་ཙམ་དུ་འདོད་པ་སྤྱི་མཐུན་ནོ། །

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**

རྣམ་མ་ལྷ་བླ་མཛད་པའོ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** 1) In the RZKB, pp. 439-444. 2) In the YDPE under the general title *gSung thor bu* (no separate title), Vol. 2, pp. 96-102.
- **References to the text in other literature:** Cf. the *Tho yig*, Appendix A, 6.1.1.3. and 7.1.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

Rong-zom-pa explains in this work the similarities and the differences between the Sūtrayāna and Vajrayāna. According to Rong-zom-pa, both Vehicles maintain that all phenomena are free from manifoldness (*spros brañ*) on the ultimate level and that all phenomena are mere illusions (*sgyu ma tsam*) on the conventional level. The differences, however, for example, relate to issues regarding the self-arisen primordial gnosis (*rang byung ye shes*), in assertions of the Mantrayāna that even impure lands (*ma dag pa'i zhing*) are completely pure (*yongs su dag pa*) and that all phenomena are

already enlightened (*chos thams cad sang rgyas pa*). After presenting these similarities and differences in brief, Rong-zom-pa carries on a short discussion in the form of "removal of critiques" (*rtsod spong*) with regard to these differences.

- **List of contents:**

Title	196a ₁
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1. མཐུན་པ་	196a ₂ དེ་ལ་
2. མི་མཐུན་པ་	196a ₆ དེ་ལ་
3. [ཚྱེད་སྤོང་]	196b ₂ འོ་ན་
Scribe or Editor Colophon	198a ₅ རྒྱུ་

TEXT NO. 2-9; fols. 199-202a₆

TITLE:

- **on title page:** སྤྱུལ་ནག་པོའི་སྤོང་ཐུན་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** སྤྱུལ་ནག་སྤོང་ཐུན་
- **in colophon:** as in title.

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** རྒྱུ་མཛད་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 4

INCIPIT:

ཐེག་པ་མཐོ་དམན་གྱི་ལྷ་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་བྱེ་བྲག་ལ། མདོར་བཟུས་ན་འདི་ལྷ་ར་གཤམ་པར་བྱ་སྟེ། ལུས་དང་
ངག་དང་ཡིད་ཀྱིས་བཟུས་པའི་ལུས་དང་གནས་དང་སྤྱོད་ལུལ་དུ་སྤང་བ་འདི་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ལྷ་བ་
སྤྲོ་ཚོགས་འཛོག་སྟེ། འོན་ཀྱང་སྤང་ངམ་མི་སྤང་ཞེས་ནི།

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**

སྤྱུལ་ནག་པོའི་སྤོང་ཐུན་རྒྱུ་མཛད་པའོ། || ||

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** 1) In the RZKB, pp. 445-452. 2) In the YDPF under the general title *gSung thor bu* (no separate title), Vol. 2, pp. 103-112.
- **References to the text in other literature:** In the *Tho yig*, see Appendix A, 6.1.2.11.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

In this small work, Rong-zom-pa compares the views of 1) the Śravakas (*nyan thos*), 2) the Madhyamaka (*dbu ma*), 3) the Kriyātantra and Caryātantra (*bya spyod rgyud*), 4) the Mahāyoga (*rnal 'byor chen po*) and 5) the Great Perfection (*rdzogs pa chen po*). Rong-zom-pa compares their views by using the analogy of the perception of the reflection of a black snake in the water and the different ways applied to overcome the fear which arises from the perception of this reflection.⁴³⁸ In the last part, he carries on a short discussion in the form of "removal of critiques" (*rtsod spong*).

- **List of contents:**

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2. [དཔེའི་དོན་]	199b ₂ དེ་བཞིན་
2.1. ཉན་ཐོས་	199b ₃ དེ་ལ་
2.2. དབྱ་མ་	199b ₅ དཔེ་གཉིས་
2.3. བྱ་སྤྱོད་གྱུང་	200a ₃ དཔེ་གསུམ་
2.4. རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཆེན་པོ་	200b ₁ བཞི་པ་
2.5. རྩོགས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་	200b ₃ ལྷ་པ་
3. [ཚོད་སྤོང་]	201a ₃ འདིར་འགའ་
Scribe or Editor Colophon	202a ₅ སྤྱུལ་ནག་

⁴³⁸ He uses the same analogy also in the third chapter of *Theg tshul* (p. 39b₆ff.).

TITLE:

- **on title page:** སངས་བྱུང་གི་ས་ཆེན་པོ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** སངས་ས་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་རིང་ཟོམ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 19

INCIPIT:

སངས་བྱུང་གི་སའི་མཆན་ཉིད་ལ་ཡོན་ཏན་གྱི་ཆོས་ཇི་ལྟར་གནས་པ་དང་། མཆན་ཉིད་དང་ཡོན་
ཏན་དེ་དག་གྲང་ངེས་པའི་དོན་དུ་དེ་བཞིན་གསུངས་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་དགོངས་པ་ལ་ཇི་ལྟར་གསུངས་པ་དེ་
ལྟར་སྤངས་ཞིང་ལྷན་པ་ཞིག་གསུངས་།

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**
བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་རིང་ཟོམ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོས་མཇུག་པ་ཇོགས་སོ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** 1) In the RZKB, pp. 453-489. 2) In the YDPE under the general title *gSung thor bu*, Vol. 2, pp. 113-158.
- **References to the text in other literature:** Cf. the *Tho yig*, Appendix A, 6.3.1.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**
In this work, Rong-zom-pa establishes the stage of Buddhahood as being the pure sphere of reality alone (*rnam par dag pa tsam*). He first presents the various views on this matter and then carries on a long discussion in the form of "objections and replies" (*brgal lan*) in which he refutes all other views which maintain the existence of any attribute on the stage of Buddhahood other than the attribute of being the pure sphere of reality alone.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁹ See also my discussion in the introduction, pp. 45-53.

- **List of contents:**

[illegible]

⁴⁴⁰ Rong-zom-pa sets forth here various views regarding the attributes of the Buddhas, beginning with the view according to which it is maintained that the Buddhas have only one attribute (*chos kyi dbyings*) and continuing with those which posit two (*chos kyi dbyings* and *rnam par mi rtog pa'i ye shes*), three (the two mentioned above and *dag pa 'jig rten pa'i ye shes*), four (the three mentioned and *'dus ma byas zhi ba thugs su chud pa'i bde ba*), and so forth.

⁴⁴¹ Or *gzhung thams cad la mngon du skur ba brtab pa* (209a₂)

3.2.1. རྣམ་པར་མི་རྟོག་པའི་ཡི་ཤེས་ཙམ་འདྲོད་པ་ལ་རྩི་བར་བྱ་བ་	213a ₂ དེ་ལ་...
3.2.1.1. གློས་གཞིག་དྲུ་མི་རུང་བ་ནི་མེད་[པའི་འདྲོད་པ་ལ་]	213a ₆ དེ་ལ་...
3.2.1.2. གཉིན་པོས་གཞིག་དྲུ་མི་རུང་བའང་མེད་[པའི་འདྲོད་པ་ལ་]	213b ₁ གཉིན་པོ་...
3.2.1.3. དགོས་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པའི་ཕྱིར་... ཟད་པར་མ་མཛད་ [པའི་འདྲོད་པ་ལ་]	214a ₃ གལ་ཏེ་...
3.2.1.4. ཀྱན་རྩོབ་སྤྱོད་མའི་མཆན་ཉིད་ཙམ་དུ་ཡོད་[པའི་འདྲོད་པ་ལ་]	214b ₁ གཞན་ཡང་...
3.2.1.5. [ལུང་གིས་སྒྲུབ་པ་]	215a ₆ དེ་ལྟར་...
3.2.1.6. ཡོན་ཏན་གྱི་རྟེན་ཡི་ཤེས་མི་མངའ་ན། ... བྱང་རྒྱ་བ་སེམས་ དཔའི་ཡོན་ཏན་དུ་འགྱུར་རོ་ཞེ་ན་	216b ₃ དེ་ལ་...
3.2.2. ཡང་དག་པ་འཇིག་རྟེན་པའི་ཡི་ཤེས་འདྲོད་པས། མི་འདྲོད་པ་དེ་དག་ གཉིས་ལ་བཞུལ་བ་	217a ₅ དེ་ནས་...
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3.2.2.1.1. ཡང་བཞུལ་བ་: སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ས་ནི་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་བྱུང་ པའི་ཆོས་ཡིན་ཏེ་... ཇིས་པར་ཆད་མས་གཞུལ་བར་བྱ་བ་མ་ཡིན་	218a ₁ ཡང་བཞུལ་...
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3.2.3.1. དེ་དག་གིས་སྒྲར་རྩིས་པ། བདག་ཅག་གཞུང་འདི་ཡང་རང་བཟོ་ མ་ཡིན་ཏེ། ཉེས་པར་མི་འགྱུར་རོ་ཞེ་ན་	219b ₆ དེ་དག་...
Conclusion	220b ₅ སངས་རྒྱས་...
Scribe or Editor Colophon	221a ₂ བོད་ཀྱི་...

⁴⁴² "They (*kho cag*) will contradict your (*khyed cag gi*) views" means here simply that after all those who maintain the existence of more than one attribute have contradicted those who maintain the existence of only one attribute, they, that is, those who posit more than one attribute, will be now, each in their turn, contradicted by the supporters of the other views regarding the differences of their opinions.

⁴⁴³ Here the existence of all the other attributes is refuted.

TITLE:

- **on title page:** ལྷ་ལྷའི་དངོས་པོ་གསལ་བར་བྱེད་པའི་ཡི་གེ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** ལྷ་ལྷའི་དངོས་པོ་
- **in colophon:** as in margin.

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** རྣམ་ལྷ་བླ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 18
- **Special remarks:** Occasional explanatory annotations or glosses (*mchan bu*) are to be found.

INCIPIT:

ལྷ་དང་ཀུའི་ནང་ནས། བསྟན་པར་བྱ་བའི་དངོས་པོ་ནི། དམ་ཚིག་དང་། དབང་དང་། སྒྲིག་
ལས་དང་། དཀྱིལ་ལམ་ར་དང་། མཚན་པ་དང་། བསྒྲུབ་པ་དང་། རྟེན་དང་། ལྷ་ལྷའི་
བསྟན་པ་རྣམས་སྟོན་ཏེ།

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**

གྲུ་རྩུ་མ་རྒྱུ་། ལྷ་ལྷའི་དངོས་པོ་རྣམ་ལྷ་བླ་མཛད་པའོ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** 1) In the RZKB, pp. 490-528. 2) In the YDPE under the general title *gSung thor bu*, Vol. 2, pp. 159-206.
- **References to the text in other literature:** Cf. the *Tho yig*, Appendix A, 1.10.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**
This short work elucidates the nine general main elements of the tantra (*rgyud spyi'i dngos po dgu*) as follows:⁴⁴⁴ 1) the tantric commitments (*dam tshig*), 2) empowerment (*dbang bskur*), 3) enlightened activities (*phrin las*), 4) maṇḍala (*dkyil 'khor*), 5) offering (*mchod pa*), 6) meditation (*bsgom pa*), 7) mantra (*sngags*), 8) mūdras (*phyag ryga*) and 9) attainment (*bsgrub pa*). Rong-zom-pa explains all these elements, except "meditation", from two aspects: the discrimination of their essence (*ngo bo dbye ba*)

⁴⁴⁴ For other enumeration, see the introduction note 34.

and their etymological meaning (*nges pa'i tshig*). Rong-zom-pa states in the introduction (fol. 222b₃₋₄) that the topics of the theory (*lta ba*), conduct (*spyod pa*) and esoteric instructions (*man ngag*) are included within these nine elements and that also the "ten suchnesses" (*de kho na nyid bcu*), which are the way of the Mantrayāna, are not separate (*gud na med*), or rather different, from these nine elements. Before he goes on to discuss these nine topics or elements of the tantra, he explains in the introductory part the literal meaning of the word "tantra" (*rgyud*) and the subdivisions (*rab dbye*) of the tantras into six groups; the subdivision of the first three is based on the meaning (*don*)—the tantras on the foundation (*gzhi rgyud*), the tantras on the path (*lam rgyud*) and the tantras on the fruit (*'bras rgyud*)—and the subdivision of the remaining three is based on the "words" (*tshig*)—the tantras which appear as sounds (*sgrar snang ba*), those known as sound (*sgrar grags pa*) and those of textual form (*glegs bam du gtogs pa*).

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4.2. ངེས་པའི་ཚེག་	226b ₅ ངེས་པའི་...

5. མཚན་པ་	227a ₄ མཚན་པ་...
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6.1. ལྷའི་མཚན་ཉིད་	228b ₅ རྟེན་ལ་...
6.2. རྣལ་འབྱོར་	230b ₆ རྣལ་འབྱོར་...
7. ལྷགས་	233a ₆ ལྷགས་ཞེས་...
7.1. རྩ་བོ་དབྱིང་པ་	233a ₆ ཐབས་དང་...
7.2. རིས་པའི་ཚིག་	234b ₁ རིས་པའི་...
8. ལྷག་གྱ་	235a ₂ ལྷག་གྱ་...
8.1. རྩ་བོ་དབྱིང་པ་	235a ₂ བདག་ཉིད་...
8.2. རིས་པའི་ཚིག་	236a ₁ རིས་པའི་...
8.2.1. ལྷའི་རིས་ཚིག་	236a ₁ ལྷ་དྲ་...
8.2.2. སོ་སོའི་བྱི་བྲག་	237a ₃ སོ་སོའི་...
9. བསྐྱབ་པ་	238a ₂ བསྐྱབ་པ་...
9.1. [རྩ་བོ་དབྱིང་པ་]	238a ₂ ཇི་སྟེན་...
9.2. རིས་པའི་ཚིག་	238b ₆ རིས་པའི་...
Conclusion	239a ₂ རྟེན་ལ་...
Scribe or Editor Colophon	239b ₅ ལྷ་རྩ་...

TEXT NO. 2-12; fols. 240-240b₃

TITLE:

- at the begining: དབང་གི་རབ་དྲུ་བྱིད་པ་
- Abbreviated title in margin: དབང་དོན་བསྐྱམ་པ་
- in scribe or editor colophon: as at the beginning.

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** རྣམ་མཁོ་བླ་མ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 1

INCIPIT:

ལས་ཀྱི་དབང་ནི། དངོས་སུ་མིང་ཡང་མཐུན་པར་ཟད། འཁོར་ལོ་སྐྱུར་བའི་དབང་ནི། འཆད་
པའི་དབང་ཡིན། འཁོར་ལོ་སྐྱུར་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་དབང་ནི། རྗེ་ཐུལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོའི་དབང་ཡིན་ཏེ། དེ་
ལྟར་ཆ་མཐུན་ཞིང་འདུས་པ་ལས།

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**

རྣམ་མཁོ་བླ་མ་མཇུག་པ་དབང་གི་རབ་དྲུ་བྱེད་པ་ཚེ་གསལ་སོ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** 1) In the RZKB, pp. 529-530. 2) In the YDPE under the general title *gSung thor bu*, Vol. 2, pp. 207-208.
- **References to the text in other literature:** Cf. the *Tho yig*, Appendix A, 5.1.1.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

A short manual which briefly describes the performance of a tantric initiation or "empowerment" ceremony (*dbang*). Rong-zom-pa mentions here three types of empowerments: "action empowerment" (*las dbang*), "turning of the wheel empowerment" (*'khor lo sgyur ba'i dbang*), that is, "exposition empowerment" (*mchad dbang*), and the "great turning of the wheel empowerment" (*'khor lo sgyur ba chen po'i dbang*), that is, the "Vajrarāja empowerment" (*rdo rje rgyal po'i dbang*), and describes briefly the procedure of the ritual.

TEXT NO. 2-13; fols. 241-245a₃

TITLE:

- **on title page:** རྣམ་འབྱོར་ཆེན་པོའི་དམ་ཚིག་ཉི་ཤུ་ཅུ་བརྒྱད་ལས་གནང་བཀའ་གི་ཡི་གེ་གསལ་བར་བཞོད་པ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** དམ་ཚིག་གནང་བཀའ་

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** དམ་ཚིག་གི་གནང་བཀག་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** རྣམ་ལྟོས་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 5

INCIPIT:

རྣམ་ལྟོས་ཆེན་པོའི་སྤྱི་འདུན་དམ་ཚིག་ཉི་ཤུ་ཅུ་བརྒྱུད་ལས། རྣམ་ལྟོས་པའི་ཤེས་རབ་དང་དྲིང་ངེ་
འཛིན་གྱི་སྟོབས་ཆེ་ཆུང་གིས། བསྐྱེད་མཚམས་གནང་བཀག་དུ་སྦྱོར་བ་ལས། ཤེས་རབ་དང་དྲིང་ངེ་
འཛིན་དུ་མི་ལྷན་པའི་གང་ཟག་ཐ་མལ་པས།

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**

རྣམ་ལྟོས་མཛད་པའི་དམ་ཚིག་གི་གནང་བཀག་གོ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** 1) In the RZKB, pp. 531-540. 2) In the YDPE under the general title *gSung thor bu*, Vol. 2, pp. 209-220.
- **References to the text in other literature:** Cf. the *Tho yig*, Appendix A, 5.1.8.3.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

A general description of the tantric commitments (according to Anuyoga?) along with an explanation of how one is to keep them and avoid their transgression. Rong-zom-pa distinguishes between the permitting (*gnang ba*) and prohibiting (*bkag pa*) tantric commitments which, according to him, correlate with the yogi's discriminating awareness (*rnal 'byor pa'i shes rab*) and meditative concentration (*ting nge 'dzin*). He then explains the three types of commitments: basic tantric commitments (*rtsa ba'i dam tshig*), ancillary tantric commitments (*yan lag gyi dam tshig*) and additional tantric commitments (*lhag pa'i dam tshig*). He also explains the method by which tantric commitments can be revived if they have been broken (*nyams na gso ba'i thabs*).

- **List of contents:**

Title 241a₁

Introduction 241a₁ རྣམ་ལྟོས་ (2nd)

1. ཙ་བའི་དམ་ཚིག་ 241a₄ དེ་ལ་...
2. སྤྱད་པར་བྱ་བའི་དམ་ཚིག་ལྟ་ 242a₆ སྤྱད་པར་...
3. ཉམ་མཛེས་པ་ལྟ་མི་སྤང་བའི་དམ་ཚིག་དང་། ཤེས་པར་བྱ་བའི་
དམ་ཚིག་ལྟ་ 244a₂ ཉམ་མཛེས་...
4. ལྷག་པའི་དམ་ཚིག་ 244a₅ སྤྱིར་དུས་...
- Scribe or Editor Colophon 245a₂ ལྷན་...

TEXT NO. 2-14; fols. 246-247b₆

TITLE:

- **on title page:** གསང་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་བཞུགས་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་ཡན་ལག་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** བཞུགས་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་ཡན་ལག་
- **in scribe or editor colophon:** བཞུགས་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་ཡན་ལག་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** རྩོམ་པའི་ཆོས་བཟང་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 2

INCIPIT:

གསང་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་བཞུགས་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་ཡན་ལག་བཞུགས་དང་། དམིགས་པ་མང་ན་
ཡང་། གཞུང་དག་ལས་མཐོང་བ་ཙམ་མདོར་བསྡུ་ན། ཁ་ཅིག་ནི། སྤྱད་ཏིང་ངེ་འཛིན་བསྐྱེལ་པ་
དང་། ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་མཆོད་པའི་ཆོས་ཀྱིས་པར་བྱས་ཏིང་བཞུགས་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་ཡན་ལག་ཡོད། །

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**

བཞུགས་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་ཡན་ལག་ཐོགས་སོ། ། རྩོམ་པའི་ཆོས་བཟང་གི་གསུང་ངོ། ། དཔེ།

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** 1) In the RZKB, pp. 541-545. 2) In the YDPE under the general title *gSung thor bu* (no separate title), Vol. 2, pp. 221-225.
- **References to the text in other literature:** Cf. the *Tho yig*, Appendix A, 4.1.13.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

This small work explains briefly the different kinds of visualisations (*dmigs pa*) during the recitation of mantras according to the texts (*gzhung*) seen by Rong-zom-pa. Rong-zom-pa mentions different methods of visualisation—visualisation of oneself as an ordinary devotee and the deity as a superior entity, visualisation of oneself as the deity itself, etc.—and says (fol. 246b₆) that these different methods are taught on account of differences with regard to one's faith and ability (*so so'i mos pa dang nus pa'i khyad par*). Then he goes on to explain mantra in general as being the Speech Mūdra (*gsung gi phyag rgya*) and its various aspects: essence (*ngo bo*), symbolism (*rtags*), "gate" (*sgo*), etymology (*nges pa'i tshig*) and the merits (*bsod nams*) accumulated through its recitation. He also mentions three types of mantras: *rig sngags*, *gsang sngags* and *gzungs sngags*.

- **List of contents:**

Title	246a ₁
1. གསང་ལྔལས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱེད་བཅོམ་གྱི་པའི་ཚེ། ཚེ་ག་ཡན་ལག་ བརྒྱད་དང་། དམིགས་པ་མང་ན་ཡང་། གཞུང་དག་ལས་ མཐོང་བ་ཙམ་མདོར་བསྡུ་	246a ₁ གསང་ལྔལས་... (2nd)
2. སྤྱིར་ལྔལས་ནི་གསུང་གི་ཕྱག་གྱུ་	247a ₁ སྤྱིར་ལྔལས་...
Scribe or Editor Colophon	247b ₅ བསྐྱེད་བཅོམ་...

TEXT NO. 2-15; fols. 248-266b₄

TITLE:

- **on title page:** རང་བྱུང་ཡི་ཤེས་ཆེན་པོ་འབྲས་བུ་རྣམ་པའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** རང་བྱུང་ཡི་ཤེས་
- **in scribe or editor colophon:** རང་བྱུང་ཡི་ཤེས་ཆེན་པོ་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** རྒྱལ་ཁབ་པོ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 19

INCIPIT:

གསང་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་ལས། སོ་སོ་སྐྱེ་བོ་ཐ་མལ་པའི་ཤེས་པ། རང་བྱུང་གི་ཡི་ཤེས་ཅན་དུ་སྒྲིན་པ་
དང་། དེའི་དབང་གིས་ཕྱི་ནང་གི་དངོས་པོ་འདི་དག་ཀྱང་ཡི་ཤེས་རྩལ་པའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་དུ་ལྷ་སྒྲི
ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་བདེན་པ་གཉིས་གའི་སྒྲིན་པ།

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**

རྣམ་མྱ་ངན་མཛད་པའི་རང་བྱུང་ཡི་ཤེས་ཆེན་པོའོ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** 1) In the RZKB, pp. 546-585. 2) In the YDPE under the general title *gSung thor bu* (no separate title), Vol. 2, pp. 226-273.
- **References to the text in other literature:** Cf. the *Tho yig*, Appendix A, 7.3.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

In this work, Rong-zom-pa first establishes the view that the apparently different perception of an ordinary person (*so so skye bo'i tha mal pa'i shes pa*) and the self-arisen primordial gnosis (*rang byung ye shes*) are, in fact, the same thing, by using the analogy of the mistaken perception of a rope as a snake. Then he carries on a discussion in the form of "objections and replies" (*brgal lan*), in the course of which he also establishes as a definite teaching the view of the Mantrayāna that all appearances are the display of the maṇḍala of the self-arisen primordial gnosis.⁴⁴⁵

- **List of contents:**

Title Page	248a
Introduction	248b ₁ གསང་ལྷགས་
1. མི་འཆམ་པའི་ཆོག་ལྷ་བྱས་འཆམ་པའི་དོན་བསྟུན་པར་བྱ་བ་	250a ₆ དེ་ནི་
2. དཔེ་ ཐག་པ་ལ་སྐྱུལ་དུ་འབྱུལ་པའི་ཤེས་པ་	251a ₅ འདིར་ཤེས་
2.1. [དཔེའི་]དོན་ཉིད་བཟོད་པར་བྱ་བ་	253b ₂ དེ་ལྟར་
3. [བཞུགས་ལན་]	257a ₅ འདིར་བཞུགས་

⁴⁴⁵ See also my discussion in the introduction, pp. 45-53.

3.1. [བཞུགས་ལུན་དང་པོ་]	257a ₅ འདིར་བཞུགས་
3.1.1. [ཡང་བཞུགས་བ་]	258b ₂ འོན་
3.2. [བཞུགས་ལུན་གཉིས་པ་]	261a ₂ འདིར་བཞུགས་
3.2.1. ཡང་བཞུགས་བ་	262a ₂ ཡང་བཞུགས་
3.2.2. ཡང་བཞུགས་བ་	262b ₂ ཡང་བཞུགས་
Conclusion	265b ₄ ཚུལ་འདི་
Scribe or Editor Colophon	266b ₄ ལྟུན་

TEXT NO. 2-16; fols. 267-268a₆

TITLE:

- **on title page:** རབ་གནས་ཀྱི་ཕ་བ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** རབ་གནས་ཕ་བ་
- **in scribe or editor colophon:** as in title.

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** ལྷ་མ་རྩེ་པ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 2

INCIPIT:

རབ་ཏུ་གནས་པ་ལ་གཉིས་ཏེ། རྩོན་དུ་བྱ་བ་དང་། རབ་ཏུ་གནས་པ་དངོས་སོ། ། རྩོན་དུ་བྱ་བ་ལ་
གསུམ་སྟེ། རྩོན་སྟོན་གོན་དུ་གནས་པ་དང་། མགོན་པོ་བསྐྱེད་བ་དང་། ཡོན་བདག་སྟོན་དུ་གནས་
པའོ། །

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**
ལྷ་མ་རྩེ་པས་མཛད་དོ། ། རབ་གནས་ཀྱི་ཕ་བ་ཡིན། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** In the YDPE, Vol. 2, 7 pp.
- **References to the text in other literature:** In the *Tho yig*, see Appendix A, 5.3.1.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

This work consists of the basic verses of a manual for consecration ritual, and is a sort of a compendium of the many procedures involved in both the preparatory part (*sngon du bya ba*) of the ritual and in the consecration ritual itself (*rab tu gnas pa dngos*).

- **List of contents:**

Title	267a ₁
Introduction	267a ₁ རབ་རྟུ་ (2nd)
1. རྟུ་རྟུ་བྱ་བ་	267a ₃ དང་པོ་
2. རབ་རྟུ་གནས་པ་དངོས་	267b ₃ རྟུ་བྱ་བ་
Scribe or Editor Colophon	268a ₆ སྒྲ་མ་

TEXT NO. 2-17; fols. 269-299a₆

TITLE:

- **on title page:** བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་སྐྱེ་གསུང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་ལ་རབ་རྟུ་གནས་པ་ཇི་ལྟར་བྱ་བའི་གཞུང་གི་བཤད་སྒྲུང་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** རབ་གནས་བཤད་སྒྲུང་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** སྒྲ་མ་ལོ་ཙ་བ་རིང་ཟེ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 31

INCIPIT:

རབ་གནས་ཀྱི་རྟུ་རྟུ་ལས། གང་ཆེ་གཟུང་ནི་ཕན་འདོགས་ངན། །དེ་ཆེ་མར་གྱི་ངོ་ལ་བརྩམས་པ། །
ཞེས་གསུངས། །གང་ཞིག་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་ནམས་ཀྱི། །ཕྱག་རྒྱ་གང་གིས་འཛིག་རྟེན་དུ། །སྦྱོ་བོ་
ཕྱིན་གྱིས་བརྒྱབ་པའི་ཕྱིར། །ཆོ་ག་རྣམ་ཕྱི་བཤད་པ་ལས། །

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**

སྒྲུ་མ་ལོ་ཙ་བ་རྩེ་བཅོམ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོས་མཛད་པའོ།། ||

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** In the YDPE, Vol. 2, 91 pp.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

This somewhat elaborate manual describes the methods of consecrating (*rab gnas* or, as it is called in the manual, *byin brlab*) the three sorts of "receptacles" (*rten*) which represent the Buddha's Body, Speech and Mind, namely, statues or *thangkas* (as *sku rten*), scriptural texts (as *gsung rten*) and stūpas (as *thugs rten*). The manual explains three types of consecration: that of oneself (*bdag*), of the deity (*lha*) and of the ordinary person (*skye bo*). These explanations are based primarily on proofs from the authoritative scriptures (*lung* or *khungs*) and additionally on logical argumentation (*rigs pa*). The text also makes mention of the special utensils of good luck (*bkra shis kyi rdzas*) used during the ritual.

- **List of contents:**

Title page	269a
Commitment [དམ་བཅའ་]	269b ₁ རབ་གནས་
Introduction	270a ₁ རྟེན་
1. གྱིན་བསྐྱབ་[མདོར་བཟུ་]	270b ₂ འདི་ལྟར་
2. བསྐྱུང་བ་ཆེན་པོས་བསྐྱུང་བ་ : ལྷགས་དང་ཕྱག་གྱུ་	271a ₂ རྟེན་
3. [ལྷ་ལྷགས་ཕྱག་གྱུ་གསུམ་]	271a ₆ རྟེན་
4. ལྷའི་དེ་ཁོ་ན་ཉིད་ཤེས་པ་	274a ₅ གཞན་ཡང་
5. གང་ཟག་རྣམས་ཡིད་ཆེས་པར་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར་གཞུང་ གི་ཆོག་ཉིད་བསྐྱན་པ་	274b ₅ ད་ནི་
6. འབྲེལ་བ་གསུམ་མདོར་བཟུས་པ་	276a ₁ འབྲེལ་བ་
7. བདག་གྱིན་གྱིས་བསྐྱབ་པའི་རིམ་པ་	276a ₄ ད་ནི་
7.1. ཁྱུང་ས་བསྐྱན་པ་	277a ₄ ད་ནི་

TITLE:

- **on title page:** རབ་བྱ་གནས་པའི་ཚོ་ག་ཚོགས་ཡིག་ཆེན་པོ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** རབ་གནས་ཚོ་ག་
- **in scribe or editor colophon:** ཚོགས་ཡིག་ཆེན་པོ་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** དཔལ་རིང་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཚས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 23

INCIPIT:

གང་ཞིག་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་ནམས་ཀྱི། །ཕྱག་སྐྱ་གང་གིས་འཛིན་དེན་དུ། །སྐྱེ་བོ་བྱིན་གྱིས་བཏུབས་
པའི་ཕྱིར། །ཚོ་གའི་རྣམ་དབྱིབས་པ་ལས། །ཕྱག་སྐྱ་ཕྱག་སྐྱ་བྱིན་བཏུབས་ཏེ། །ཡུན་དུ་དག་
ཤིས་བདེན་འདོད་པས། །ལྷགས་དང་ཕྱག་སྐྱ་ཇི་སྟེན་པས། །གང་ཞིག་བཏུབས་ཀྱང་སྐྱོན་མེད་དེ། །

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**
ཚོགས་ཡིག་ཆེན་པོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། དཔལ་རིང་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཚས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོས་མཛད་པ་ཚོགས་སོ། །སླ་
མའི་མན་ངག་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའོ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** In the YDPE, Vol. 2, 67 pp.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**
In this manual Rong-zom-pa presents a brief, a somewhat elaborate and a very elaborate method of consecration. He first explains how the various consecrations, or blessings (*byin brlabs*), are to be performed through the utilization of both mantras (*sngags*) and mūdras (*phyag rgya*), and then the different types of offerings (*mchod pa*) that can be made. For those who wish to perform an even more elaborate ritual, he presents additional optional activities such as dancing and singing, and finally he explains what he calls "additional blessing" (*lhag ma'i byin brlabs*).

● **List of contents:**

Title Page	300a
Introduction	300b ₁ གང་ཞིག་...
1. མདོར་ན་བདུན་ཞིང་བྱིན་ཆེ་ལ་དག་ཞིང་བཟླ་ཤིས་པར་བྱ་བའི་ཚོ་ག་	301a ₄ མདོར་ན་...
2. ཟུང་ཟད་དེ་བས་རྒྱས་པར་བྱེད་པར་འདོད་ན་	303a ₃ ཟུང་ཟད་...
3. ཤིན་དུ་སྤྲོས་པ་ལ་དགའ་བ་ན་མས་ཀྱི་དོན་དུ་	305a ₃ ད་ནི་...
3.1. དབུ་སྤྱིར་དང་ཉིང་ལག་བྱིན་བསྐྱབས་	305b ₁ དེ་ལ་...
3.2. ཐུགས་བྱིན་བསྐྱབས་	306a ₃ དེ་ནས་...
3.3. གསུང་བྱིན་བསྐྱབས་	307b ₁ དེ་ལྟར་...
3.4. སྒྲ་ཡན་ལག་བྱིན་བསྐྱབས་	307b ₄ དེ་ནས་...
3.5. དུས་གཅིག་དུ་བྱིན་བསྐྱབས་	308a ₃ དེ་ལ་...
3.6. ཐུགས་དང་ཕྱག་རྒྱས་བྱིན་བསྐྱབས་	308b ₃ དེ་ནས་...
3.7. རོ་ཇི་གདན་བྱིན་བསྐྱབས་	309a ₁ དེ་ལྟར་...
3.8. དེ་ནས་ཟུང་ཟད་རྒྱས་པར་བྱ་བར་འདོད་ན་	311b ₃ དེ་ནས་...
3.8.1. གར་གྱི་མཚོད་པ་	312a ₅ དེ་ལ་...
3.8.2. དབུངས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱལ་བ་	315b ₁ དེ་ལྟར་...
3.8.3. བདེ་བའི་ཚོ་ག་	315b ₄ དེ་ནས་...
3.8.4. ཕྱག་རྒྱ་མཚོད་པ་	316a ₆ དེ་ནས་...
3.8.5. ཞི་བ་	318b ₃ དེ་ལ་...
3.8.6. ཁྲོ་བོ་	318b ₄ ཁྲོ་བོ་...
4. ལྷག་མའི་བྱིན་བསྐྱབས་	319b ₃ དེ་ལ་...
4.1. ཐུགས་དང་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་	319b ₃ ལྷག་འབྱུང་...
4.2. དངོས་གྲུབ་	321a ₃ དེ་ནས་...
Conclusion	321b ₄ འདི་དག་...
Scribe or Editor Colophon	322a ₅ ཚུགས་ཡིག་...

TITLE:

- **on title page:** ལྟ་བ་དང་བྱུང་མཐའ་སྣ་ཚོགས་པ་བཞི་དྲུག་བཀྲིས་པ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** བྱུང་མཐའི་བཞི་དྲུག་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in author colophon:** རྣམ་ལྷན་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 31

INCIPIT:

ཉན་ཐོས་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བ་ནི། བྱི་བྲག་པ་དང་། མདོ་སྡེ་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འདྲ་བ་ལ། ཡུལ་དུལ་ཕྱ་རབ་ཇས་སུ་
ཡོད་པར་འདོད་དོ། །ལུང་ལས་ཀྱང་། ལག་མཐེལ་སྤྱུ་ཉག་གཅིག་བཞག་ན། །མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ནི་མི་
རྟོགས་ལ། །མིག་དུ་སོང་ན་དེ་མིན་ལྟར། །མཁས་པའི་ཡི་ཤེས་མིག་དང་འདྲ། །

COLOPHONS:

- **Author colophon:**
རྣམ་ལྷན་སྤྱུར་བ་སྟོན་ཐོགས་སོ། ། །ཨ་ཏི། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** 1) In the SThB, pp. 333-414. 2) In the YDPE, Vol. 2, 89 pp.
- **References to the text in other literature:** 1) Cf. the *Tho yig*, Appendix A, 6.1.1.3. and 7.1. 2) In Mimaki's *Blo gsal grub mtha'*, p. 6.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**
Unlike most of Rong-zom-pa's works, which deal with tantric topics, this work deals primarily with the views of the Sūtrayāna. This work, which is a "memorandum" of the various theories (*lta ba*) and tenet systems (*grub mtha'*), is divided into four parts in which the main tenet systems are presented: 1) Śravaka (*nyan thos*), which is further divided into Vaibhāṣika (*bye brag pa*) and Sautrāntika (*mdo sde pa*). 2) Vijñānavādin (*rnam par shes pa tsam du smra ba*). 3) Madhyamaka (*dbu ma*), which is further divided into Sautrāntika-madhyamaka (*mdo sde spyod pa'i dbu ma*) and Yogācāra-madhyamaka (*rnal 'byor spyod pa'i dbu ma*). In this context Rong-zom-pa also describes the different types of reasonings adopted by the Madhyamikas. And 4) the

three Vehicles (*theg pa gsum*) of the Sūtrayāna, namely, Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna and Mahāyāna. Rong-zom-pa explains here the etymology of these names and describes, or rather compares, the Vehicles on the basis of four aspects: the "gate of entrance" (*'jug pa'i sgo*), the view to be realised (*rtogs pa'i lta ba*), the stages of cleansing the defilements (*sgrib pa spangs pa'i rim pa*), the method employed (*spyod pa'i thabs*) and the accomplished fruit (*mthar phyin pa'i 'bras bu*). He further provides explanations with regard to certain aspects of the Mahāyāna, such as the intention (*dgongs pa*) and the view on primordial gnosis.

• **List of contents:**

Title Page	323a
1. ཉན་ཐོས་	323b ₁ ཉན་ཐོས་
1.1. བྱི་བྲག་པ་	323b ₃ རྟོ་ཡང་
1.2. མདོ་ཐེ་པ་	324b ₁ ཉན་ཐོས་ (1st)
1.3. ཡུལ་ལ་གཙོད་པའི་ཚུལ་	324b ₁ ཉན་ཐོས་ (2nd)
2. རྣམ་པར་ཤེས་པ་ཙམ་དུ་སྒྲུབ་	325b ₄ རྣམ་པར་
3. [དབུ་མ་]	326b ₁ རྣལ་འབྱོར་
3.1. རྣལ་འབྱོར་སྟོན་པའི་དབུ་མ་	326b ₁ རྣལ་འབྱོར་
3.2. མདོ་ཐེ་དབུ་མ་	327a ₅ མདོ་ཐེ་
3.3. གཏན་ཆེགས་	328a ₂ རྟོ་མར་
3.3.1. དབུ་མའི་ཕུར་བཞི་ ⁴⁴⁶	329a ₃ དབུ་མའི་
3.3.2. གཅིག་དང་དུ་མ་དང་བྲལ་བ་	332a ₆ གཅིག་དང་
3.3.3. ལུ་བཞིའི་སྒྲིབ་འགོག་པ་ ⁴⁴⁷	333b ₆ ལུ་བཞིའི་
3.3.4. རྟེན་འབྲེལ་	335a ₂ རྟེན་ཅིང་
4. ཐེག་པ་གསུམ་	335a ₃ ཐེག་པ་
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⁴⁴⁶ Nowadays known as *mtha' bzhi skye 'gog*.

⁴⁴⁷ Nowadays known as *yod med skye 'gog*.

4.2. སྤྲེཀ་ཡན་	336b ₆ སྤྲེཀ་
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4.3.2.8. འབྲས་བུ་	341a ₄ འབྲས་བུ་
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⁴⁴⁸ Here and in the two following paragraphs the author describes the differences between the three yānas in respect to five aspects: *'jug pa'i sgo*, *rtogs pa'i lta ba*, *sgrib pa spang pa'i rim pa*, *spyod pa'i thabs* and *mtshar phyin pa'i 'bras bu*.

⁴⁴⁹ The three Buddha-Bodies are explained here according to the various tenet systems.

4.3.4.4. ལས་	349b ₆ ལས་ལ་
4.3.5. བདག་མེད་པ་གཉིས་	352a ₄ བདག་མེད་
Author Colophon	353a ₆ ལྟུང་

ཐེམ་བྱང་ (Table of Contents); fol. [354a₁-b₁]

This table of contents (*them byang*) is one-folio long, and it gives the titles and the length (number of folios) of all the texts included in volume 2.

VOLUME 3 (ཨི)

TEXT NO. 3-1; fols. 1-146a₁

TITLE:

- **on title page:** སངས་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་མཉམ་པར་སྦྱར་བ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་སྦྱ་མ་བདེ་བའི་མཆོག་ཅེས་བྱ་བའི་རྒྱད་ཀྱི་དཀའ་འགྲེལ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** མཉམ་སྦྱར་འགྲེལ་
- **in author colophon:** ཅོག་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐྱར་བ་ཆེན་པོ་བདེ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་འགྲེལ་པ་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་རང་བློ་མཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 146
- **Special remarks:** folio number 99 is missing.

INCIPIT:

སངས་རྒྱས་ཀུན་གྱི་རང་བཞིན་དངོས། །སྤྱི་དགུ་ཀུན་གྱི་མགོན་གཅིག་ལ། །བདེ་ཆེན་དྷི་ཇི་སེམས་
དཔའ་ལ། །བདུད་ནས་དེ་རྒྱུད་དགྲོལ་བར་འདོད། །བཅོས་ལྡན་རང་བྱུང་གཅིག་ལུ་ནི། །སངས་
རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་མཉམ་སྦྱར་བ། །མཁའ་འགྲོ་སྦྱ་མ་བདེ་མཆོག་དེ། །གང་ཞེས་ཅི་འདྲ་ཇི་ལྟར་
བསྐྱབ། །

COLOPHONS:

- **Author colophon:**

སངས་རྒྱལ་མཆོག་ཅན་དང་མཉམ་པར་སྤྱོད་བ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་སྤྱོད་མ་བདེ་བའི་དྲི་པ། དྲི་པ་
མཆོག་ཅན་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྐྱར་བ་ཆེན་པོ་བདེ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞེས་བྲུ་བའི་འགྲེལ་པ་གཞུང་གི་དོན་
བསྟུན་པ་དང་དོན་ལ་འཇུག་པ་ཙམ་གྱི་སྒྲུབ་བྲལ་པ་ཚོགས་སོ། །

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**

འདི་ནི་ལོ་ཙུ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་རང་བློ་ཆོས་གྱི་བཟང་པོས་མཛད་པའོ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** In the YDPE, Vol. 3, 431 pp.
- **References to the text in other literature:** In the *Tho yig*, see Appendix A, 1.2.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

This work is an extensive commentary on the Buddhasamāyoga,⁴⁵⁰ another important tantra of the rNying-ma-pas, which, unlike the *Guhyagarbha-tantra*, is shared by both rNying-ma-pas and gSar-ma-pas. In this commentary, Rong-zom-pa provides three explanations: 1) A brief explanation of the tantra by way of a discussion of seven questions—for persons who prefer a summarizing (*kun nas bsdus pa*) explanation. 2) A precise discrimination (*rab tu dbye ba*) of the mode of attainment (*ji ltar bsgrub pa*), in which he explains the main element of the method (*thabs kyi dngos po*), that is, the mūdras—for those who prefer precise distinguishing. And 3) an extensive explanation of the text, which is also meant for those who prefer precise distinguishing. In the extensive explanation, which makes up the largest part of the commentary, he explains the essence (*ngo bo*) of Vajrasattva in five points: a) he establishes the Method Mūdra (*thabs kyi phyag rgya*) as being the "female illusion" (*bud med kyi sgyu 'phrul*), b) he explains the union with all Buddhas, c) he establishes Vajrasattva as the essence of the various impure phenomena, d) he describes the ritual of attainment, and e) the four manifestations (*rnam par 'phrul pa bzhi*). In this extensive explanation Rong-zom-pa also discusses ten topics (*rtog pa*). The discussion of these ten topics is fitted into his explanation of the above-mentioned five points. In the list of contents below, I present

⁴⁵⁰ NyGB, Vol. 16, nos. 206-208. This tantra, like the *Guhyagarbha tantra*, belongs to the Mahāyoga cycle. Klong-chen-pa identifies it as (*sku'i thugs rgyug*), one of the three Body-Tantras (*sku'i rgyud gsum*), while scholars of the Zur Tradition also classify it as the Tantra of Spiritual Embodiment (*sku'i rgyud*) which is one of the Five Foundational and Root Tantras (*gzhi dang rtsa bar gyur pa'i rgyud lnga*).

two subdivisions: the first follows the pattern of the five main points of the explanation and integrates the ten topics as its further subdivision; the second, an alternative subdivision, is primarily based on the ten topics.

The title page indicates that this text was copied down from a manuscript of the [IVth] Zhwa-dmar-pa sPyan-snga Chos-grags (1453-1524) from Lho-brag Nyi-sde-dgon.

• **List of contents:**

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3.2.4.5. རྩོམ་པ་ལྔ་པ་: རྩོམ་སྐྱོང་པའི་འཕྲུལ་བའི་དྲི་བ་རྣམ་པ་	
གསུམ་སྟན་པ་	32b ₂ ད་ནི་
3.2.4.6. རྩོམ་པ་དྲུག་པ་: འཕྲུལ་བ་རྩོམ་སྐྱོང་པའི་ཐབས་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་སྤྱོད་པ་	37a ₂ དེ་ལྟར་
3.2.4.6.1. ཐབས་ཀྱི་དངོས་གཞིར་གྱུར་པ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་སྐྱོང་པར་	
འཕྲུལ་བ་བཤད་པ་	37a ₃ དེ་ཡང་
3.2.4.6.2. ཚུལ་སྤྱོད་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་དུ་མཚན་པ་ལ་འཇུག་པའི་ཚུལ་བསྟན་པ་	38b ₂ ད་ནི་
3.2.4.6.3. སྐྱབ་མ་གཞུག་པའི་ཚུལ་བསྟན་པ་	41a ₁ ད་ནི་
3.2.4.6.3.1. བདག་ཕྱག་སྒྲིལ་ཆེན་པོ་བསྐྱབ་པའི་རིམ་པ་	45b ₆ དེ་ལས་
3.2.4.6.3.2. ཡུམ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་བསྐྱབ་པར་བྱ་བ་	49b ₃ དེ་ལས་
3.2.4.6.4. དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་སྦྱོར་མེད་ཅིང་ཚུལ་མང་པོ་ལ་མི་དགའ་	
རྣམས་ལྷན་དུ་དཔལ་རྩོམ་སྐྱོང་པའི་འབྲེལ་གྱི་ཕྱག་སྒྲིལ་བསྐྱབ་པར་	
འདོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱབ་པའི་ཚུལ་	56a ₄ གང་ཡང་
3.2.4.6.5. བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་རྣམ་པར་སྤྱང་མཛད་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་སྤྱོད་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་	
དུ་བསྐྱབ་པ་བཤད་པ་	57a ₆ ད་ནི་

⁴⁵¹ See following alternative subdivision above.

3.2.4.6.6. རང་བྱེད་གྱིས་བསྐྱབས་པ་བསྐྱབ་པའི་ཚེ་ག་	64a ₆ དེ་ནས་
3.2.4.6.7. ཡུམ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་སྐྱེ་ཆེན་པོ་བསྐྱབ་པ་བཤད་པ་	70b ₃ དེ་ནི་
3.2.4.6.7.1. དཔལ་ཉི་རུ་ཀའི་འཁོར་གྱི་ལྷ་མོ་	70b ₄ དེ་ལ་
3.2.4.6.7.1.1. མན་ངག་ཕྱོག་གཅིག་པ་ : ཉི་མེ་ ཞེས་བྱ་བ་མདོག་དཀར་དཀྱིལ་ འཁོར་དུ་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཆེན་པོ་བསྐྱབ་པ་གཙོར་གསུངས་	70b ₅ རྩོན་གྱི་
3.2.4.6.7.1.2. མན་ངག་གི་ཕྱོགས་གཉིས་པ་ : གདུག་པ་ཅན་གདུལ་བའི་ ལས་གྲུབ་པ་གཙོར་གསུངས་	80b ₆ ཡང་།
3.2.4.6.7.2. དཔལ་པད་མ་གར་གྱི་དབང་ཕྱག་གི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ལ་སོགས་ པར་བསྐྱབ་པའི་ཚེ་ག་བཤད་པ་	82b ₆ དེ་ནི་
3.2.4.6.7.2.1. དཔལ་པད་མ་གར་གྱི་དབང་ཕྱག་གི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་	83a ₆ དེ་ལ་
3.2.4.6.7.2.2. དཔལ་རྩི་རྩི་ཉི་མའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་	84a ₄ དཔལ་རྩི་
3.2.5. རྣམ་པར་འཕྲུལ་པ་བཞི་སྟོན་པ་	85b ₃ ཅི་འགས་
3.2.5.1. རྩོག་པ་བདུན་པ་ : འཁོར་ལོ་རྣམ་པར་འཕྲུལ་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་དཀྱིལ་ འཁོར་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་སྐྱེ་མཚན་མ་སྟོན་པ་	85b ₅ དེ་ལས་
3.2.5.2. རྩོག་པ་བཅུད་པ་ : མཚོད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་རྣམ་འཕྲུལ་པ་བསྟན་པ་	90b ₂ དེ་ནི་
3.2.5.3. རྩོག་པ་དགུ་པ་ : ཕྱག་སྐྱེ་རྣམ་པར་འཕྲུལ་པ་བསྟན་པ་ ⁴⁵²	92a ₆ དེ་ནི་
3.2.5.3.1. ཐམས་ཅད་འབྲུང་བྱེད་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་སྐྱེ་	93a ₅ དེ་ལ་
3.2.5.3.1.1. དཔལ་རྣམ་པར་སྤང་མཛད་ཀྱི་ཐམས་ཅད་འབྲུང་བྱེད་ ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་སྐྱེ་བསྟན་པ་	100b ₅ དེ་ནི་
3.2.5.3.1.2. དཔལ་ཉི་རུ་ཀའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་ཐམས་ཅད་འབྲུང་བྱེད་ ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་སྐྱེ་བསྟན་པ་	104a ₃ དེ་ནི་
3.2.5.3.1.2.1. མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་འི་ཕྱག་སྐྱེ་ལ་གྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་རིམ་པ་ བདུན་དུ་སྟོན་པ་	105b ₂ དེ་ནི་

⁴⁵² Though there are said to be twenty-eight mudrās, only twenty-seven are mentioned in the list at the beginning of the paragraph (fols. 92-93); *dam tshig chen po ye shes kyi phyag rgya* (see paragraph 3.2.5.3.3.) is missing. On the occasion of the detailed explanation of each mudrā (see paragraphs 3.2.5.3.1-24.), however, only twenty-four are described. The four mudrās: *mchod pa'i gtor ma ye shes kyi phyag rgya*, *rdo rje'i phyag rgya thams cad kyi ye shes kyi phyag rgya*, *ngag brta ye shes kyi phyag rgya* and *gso ba thams cad ye shes kyi phyag rgya* are not mentioned.

3.2.5.3.1.3. དཔལ་པད་མ་གར་གྱི་དབང་ཕུག་གི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་བསྟན་པ་	110a ₃ དན་
3.2.5.3.1.4. དཔལ་དྲོ་ཉི་མའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་བསྟན་པ་	112a ₆ དན་
3.2.5.3.1.5. དཔལ་རྟ་མཆོག་གི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་བསྟན་པ་	113b ₂ དན་
3.2.5.3.2. དམ་ཆོག་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	116b ₆ དན་
3.2.5.3.3. དམ་ཆོག་ཆེན་པོ་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	117b ₆ དན་
3.2.5.3.4. སྤྱོད་བ་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	118a ₅ སྤྱོད་བ་
3.2.5.3.5. ཐམས་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་བསྟན་པ་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	118b ₆ དན་
3.2.5.3.6. ཞལ་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	120a ₂ དན་
3.2.5.3.7. འཇུག་པ་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	120b ₆ དན་
3.2.5.3.8. ལྟ་བ་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	121a ₅ དན་
3.2.5.3.9. ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	121b ₄ དན་
3.2.5.3.10. སྤྱི་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	122a ₆ དན་
3.2.5.3.11. རོལ་མོ་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	124a ₂ དན་
3.2.5.3.12. གར་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	124b ₁ དན་
3.2.5.3.13. སྤྱི་ཐུན་གྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་ཞེས་གྲགས་པ་དྲོ་ཉི་མའི་མཆོད་པའི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	126a ₁ དན་
3.2.5.3.14. མཆོད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	127b ₆ དན་
3.2.5.3.15. ཕུག་གྱུ་དབང་བསྐྱར་བའི་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	128a ₆ དན་
3.2.5.3.16. ཡིག་འབྲུ་དགོངས་པ་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	128b ₆ དན་
3.2.5.3.17. བདེའ་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	130a ₅ དན་
3.2.5.3.18. ཡི་ཤེས་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	134b ₁ དན་
3.2.5.3.19. རྣམ་པར་ཤེས་པ་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	135b ₃ དན་
3.2.5.3.20. ཐམས་ཅད་བསྐྱེད་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	135b ₅ དན་
3.2.5.3.21. མཆོན་ཆ་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	136b ₆ དན་
3.2.5.3.22. ལས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	137a ₆ དན་
3.2.5.3.23. དཔལ་དྲོ་ཉི་མའི་ཐོན་པའི་ཕུག་གྱུ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དྲོ་ཉི་མའི་ལས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	137b ₂ དན་
3.2.5.3.24. དངོས་གྲུབ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕུག་གྱུ་	138b ₅ དན་

3.2.5.4. རྟོག་པ་བཅུ་པ་ : ཕྱག་ཐུ་རྣམ་པར་འཕྲུལ་པ་ཀྱན་ནས་	
བསྐྱུས་པ་བསྐྱན་པ་	139a ₅ དེ་ནི་...
3.2.5.4.1. ཕྱག་ཐུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཐམས་ཅད་བསྐྱུས་པ་ཕྱག་ཐུ་ཡོངས་སུ་དགྲོལ་བ་	
ཞེས་བྱ་བ[འི་ཕྱག་ཐུ་]	139b ₄ དེ་ལ་...
3.2.5.4.2. དམ་ཆོག་གི་ཕྱག་ཐུ་ཐམས་ཅད་བསྐྱུས་པ་དཔལ་རྩི་རྩེ་	
ཐུན་གྱི་ཕྱག་ཐུ་	140b ₆ དམ་ཆོག་...
Conclusion	141a ₆ དེ་ཡན་...
a. དཔལ་རྩི་རྩེ་སེམས་དཔས་གསུངས་པ་ལ་དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་	
ཀྱིས་མངོན་པར་བསྟོད་པ་བསྐྱན་པ་	141a ₆ དེ་ནི་...
b. ཐུད་དང་སྟོན་པའི་རང་བཞིན་སྟོན་	142b ₂ དེ་ནི་...
c. གང་གི་ཆེ་གདོད་མ་ནས་དག་པ་ཐ་མའི་མཐར་ཐོགས་	
དབྱུང་དུ་མེད་པ། རིམ་དང་རིམ་གྱིས་སྟོན་པར་མཛད་པ་དེའི་ཆེ་	144b ₆ གང་གི་...
Epilogue [མཇུག་ ཅོམ་]	145a ₆ དམ་ཆོག་...
Author Colophon	145b ₆ སངས་རྒྱས་...
Scribe or Editor Colophon	146a ₁ འདི་ནི་...

• **Alternative subdivision:**

Up to the explanation of the Ritual of Attainment (paragraph 3.2.4.), the subdivisions are identical. From this point onwards the text can be subdivided according to the ten "topics" (*rtog pa*⁴⁵³):⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵³ Rong-zom-pa explains the term *rtog pa* (fols. 24a₅ff.) as "entering a text, skillful means, accomplishments, deity, etc." (*gzhung dang thabs dang dngos grub lha la sogs pa la 'jug [pa]*), which in this case (paragraph 3.2.4.) would mean "entering the rituals of skillful means" (*thabs kyi cho ga rnams la 'jug pa*). Another explanation given there is "purification of conceptualisations" (*rtog pa yongs su dag [pa]*). In paragraph 4. the term *rtog pa* (fol. 32b₂) seems to be synonymous with *dris tshig* (in fol. 30b₂). According to the *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, *rtog pa* can also mean chapter (*le'u* or *skabs*), which in this case would be something like "topic". In his *rGyud spyi'i dngos po gsal pa'i yi ge* (RZSB, Vol. 2, fols. 223b₃-224a₂), Rong-zom-pa gives another explanation: According to him, when the tantra does not include all parts—i.e., basis of introduction (*gleng gzhi*), introduction (*gleng bslang*), main body of the tantra (*rgyud kyi dngos po*) or complete entrustment (*yongs su gtad pa*)—it would be described as "partial *kalpa*" (*kal pa phyogs gcig pa*). (That is in contrast to "tantra", which is, according to Rong-zom-pa (fol. 223b₁), "non partial" (*phyogs gcig tu zin par bya pa med pa*), i.e., complete.) And he continues: "*Kalpa* is called [in Tibetan] *rtog pa*, which is a "sign" that indicates the meaning of none-conceptualisation. Furthermore, it also designates tantra, the ritual of the method, the deity and its "signs", and accomplishments." (*de la kal pa zhes bya ba ni/ rnam par mi rtog pa'i don mtshon par*

1. རྟོག་པ་དང་པོ་	23a ₄ དེ་ལས་...
2. རྟོག་པ་གཉིས་པ་	24b ₆ དེ་ནི་...
3. རྟོག་པ་གསུམ་པ་	28a ₄ དེ་ནི་...
4. རྟོག་པ་བཞི་པ་	30b ₂ དེ་ནི་...
5. རྟོག་པ་ལྲ་པ་	32b ₂ དེ་ནི་...
6. རྟོག་པ་དྲུག་པ་	37a ₂ དེ་ལྟར་...
7. རྟོག་པ་བདུན་པ་	85b ₅ དེ་ལས་...
8. རྟོག་པ་བརྒྱད་པ་	90b ₂ དེ་ནི་...
9. རྟོག་པ་དགུ་པ་	92a ₆ དེ་ནི་...
10. རྟོག་པ་བརྒྱ་པ་	139a ₅ དེ་ནི་...

The concluding part is as in the subdivision above.

TEXT NO. 3-2; fols. 147-273a₄

TITLE:

- **on title page:** གསང་སྤྱལ་སྤྱི་དམ་ཚྲིམ་གྱི་དང་ཁྱད་པར་ལྷག་པའི་དམ་ཚོག་དུ་ཕྱི་སྤྱི་མཛོད་
རྒྱས་སྤྱོད་བསྟན་པ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** དམ་ཚོག་

byed pa'i mtshan ma'i rtog pa la bya ste/ de yang rgyud dang/ thabs kyi cho ga dang/ lha dang de'i mtshan ma dang/ dngos grub rnam la rtog pa zhes grags so//). He further explains that in the case of "tantra" (*rgyud*), all *kha longs pa* (?) and *ma longs pa* (?) are called *rtog pa*. In the case of "ritual of the method" (*thabs kyi cho ga*), precise or detailed (*zhig mo*) rituals of rites (*las*) and accomplishments (*dngos grub*) are called *rtogs pa*. When the "deities and their signs" (*lha dang de'i mtshan ma*) are concerned, all the Form-Bodies of the Buddha and all "branches" of the "signs" of Body, Speech and Mind, from the subtle ones onwards (*sku gsung thugs mtshan ma'i yan lag phra mo yan chad*), are called *rtog pa*. Regarding "accomplishments" (*dngos grub*), all what is to be attained (*thob par bya ba*)— i.e., the deity itself or its good qualities (*lha dang de'i yon tan*)—is called *rtog pa*. When Rong-zom-pa also explains the etymology (*nges tshig*) of the word *rtog pa* and says that anything called *rtog pa* is called so because it is either imputed (or labelled) by conceptualizations (*rtog pas brtags pa*) or arisen from conceptualizations (*rtog pa las byung ba*).

⁴⁵⁴ This subdivision correlates with the first one as follows: The first topic with paragraph 3.2.4.1.; the second with 3.2.4.2.; the third with 3.2.4.3.; the fourth with 3.2.4.4.; the fifth with 3.2.4.5.; the sixth with 3.2.4.6.; the seventh with 3.2.5.1.; the eighth with 3.2.5.2.; the ninth with 3.2.5.3. and the tenth with 3.2.5.4.

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in first old manuscript colophon:** བོད་ཀྱི་པཱི་ཏ་ཆེན་པོ་རྣམ་ལྟན་པ་ / བོད་ཀྱི་སྒྲིམ་བུ་རྣམ་
ལྟན་པ་
- **in second old manuscript colophon:** ལྷ་མ་དམ་པ་རིང་ཟོམ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོ་
- **in xylograph colophon:** རིང་ཟོམ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོ་ / མ་དུ་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་རྣམ་ལྟན་པ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 127

INCIPIT:

བཅོས་ལྷན་རྩི་ཆེ་འཆང་ལ་གྲུས་བདུད་ནས། | རྒྱལ་ཆེན་གསང་བའི་ཐེག་པ་ལས་གསུངས་པའི། |
དམ་ཆེག་མདོ་རྒྱས་རྒྱལ་ཙམ་བསྟན་པ་འདི། ||མཁས་པ་ཡིས་ཀྱང་བསྟན་པར་བགྱི་བའི་འོས། |
ཅེ་སྤྲད་འདི་དངོས་རྒྱལ་བའི་བཀའ་ཉིད་དེ། |མཆམས་སྦྱར་ཙམ་ཞིག་གང་ཟག་རྟོག་གི་ཆེག་ |
དེས་ཀྱང་དེ་ལ་གཞན་པ་མ་མཆེས་ཤིང་། |དེ་ཡང་བཀའ་ཉིད་ལ་ནི་བརྟེན་པ་ལགས། |

COLOPHONS:

- **First old manuscript colophon:**

བོད་ཀྱི་པཱི་ཏ་ཆེན་པོ་རྣམ་ལྟན་པ་མཛད་པའོ། |སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་དོན་དུ་གྱུར་ཅིག་ |
བོད་ཀྱི་སྒྲིམ་བུ་རྣམ་ལྟན་པ་ནི། |ཕྱི་ནང་རིག་གནས་ཀྱན་ལ་མ་ཚོངས་པས། |ལྷ་ངན་ཆང་ཆིང་
རིགས་པའི་མེས་བཅོམ་ནས། |ཆོས་ཉིད་མཉམ་པ་ཆེན་པོར་སྤྲུགས་གཞིལ་ཡང་། |མ་རིག་
འགྲོ་བ་རྗེས་སུ་གཟུང་བའི་ཕྱིར། |དམ་ཆེག་མདོ་རྒྱས་མཛད་པ་བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ། |མཆོ་ལྟོ་
ཨོཾ་མུ་ཨྲི། ཨུཾ།

- **Second old manuscript colophon:**

ལྷ་མ་དམ་པ་རིང་ཟོམ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོ་ཡི། |ཞལ་ནས་གདམས་པ་དམ་ཆེག་ཆེན་པོ་འདི་ལ་
སོགས། |རྒྱལ་བའི་བཀའ་དང་དབྱེར་མེད་དེ་ཕྱིར་གྲུག་ཡི། |དགེ་བསྟན་རྩི་ཆེ་དབང་ཕྱག་བདག་
གིས་ནན་ཏན་བྱས། ||དགེ་བས་བདག་སོགས་སྤྲུམ་མའི་རྗེས་འབྲང་ལྷགས་པ་རྣམས། |དྲི་མེད་
རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་ཏིང་འཛིན་གིས་རབ་ལམ་མཆོག་གིས། |ཐུར་དུ་བཅོམ་ལྷན་རྩི་ཆེ་འཆང་གིས་ཐོབ་
ནས། |འགྲོ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤྲུག་བསྐྱེད་མཆོ་ལས་སྦྱོལ་བར་ཤོག |ལྷ་མ་ཆེན་པོ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་ལ། གོ་
རུབ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་དགེ་སྤྲོད་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གིས་རབ་ཀྱིས་གསོལ་བ་བདུབ་པའི་ཕྱིར་མཛད་པའོ། ||

– **Author:** གོ་རུབ་ལོ་ཙ་བ་དགེ་སྤྱོད་ཚེས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རབ་

• **Xylograph colophon:**

སྐལ་ལྷན་སློབ་བྱ་དབང་གིས་སྐྱུང་སྤྲིན་ཅིང་། །རིམ་གཉིས་ལམ་ལ་གཞིལ་བའི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་བས། །
སྒོ་གསུམ་རྩི་ཐེགས་སུ་སྒྲུབ་པའི་སྟོག་ །འདེམ་དཀའི་དམ་ཚིག་ཡལ་བར་འདོར་མི་རེགས། །དེ་
ཕྱིར་སྤངས་སྤང་གནང་བཀའ་མ་ཞོར་བར། །སྤྱིང་ལ་བཅུངས་བ་སྤྱིས་བྱའི་དབང་ཡལ་དུ། །མདོ་སྐྱུང་
ཀུན་གྱི་ཟབ་དོན་ལྷད་མའི་གཟུགས། །སྤངས་སྤྱིང་དག་མཉམ་རྩལ་གར་ཅིང་ཡང་འཆར། །དམ་ཚིག་
མདོ་སྐྱུང་རབ་གསལ་བ། །རྩིང་ཐོམ་ཚེས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོའི་གསུང་། །རྣམ་དཀར་སྤྱིར་བསྐྱུན་པའི་
དགེས། །སྐལ་བསྐྱུར་སྤྱིང་པོ་ཡུན་གནས་ཤོག །མ་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ཙ་བ་རྣམ་རྒྱ་བྱའི་གསུང་འབུམ་སྤར་
བསྐྱུན་སྐབས་པར་ཀུན་གྱི་ལོ་ནས་ཆེད་དུ་བཟོད་པ་དགོ། །

– **Author:** པར་ཀུན་གྱི་ལོ་

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** 1) In the SThB, pp. 153-185. 2) In the YDPE, Vol. 3, 397 pp.
- **References to the text in other literature:** In the *Tho yig*, see Appendix A, 5.1.8.1.

SUBJECT MATTER:

• **General description:**

This work deals with the tantric commitments (*dam tshig*) from the perspectives of Kriyātantra (*bya rgyud*), Yogatantra (*rnal 'byor rgyud*) and Mahāyoga (*rnal 'byor chen po*). According to Rong-zom-pa, the tantric commitments include not only the tantric commitments of the tantra in question but also those of the Bodhisattva, and are divided into three groups: general (*spyi*), special (*khyad par*) and additional (*lhag pa*) commitments.⁴⁵⁵ Each tantra has its own general commitments to be observed and the special commitments which are to be observed according to the person, the deity and the text in question. The commitment required to be kept only on special occasions, such as during certain practices (*'jug pa'i spyod pa*), are called additional commitments. The tantric commitments are also divided here into basic (*rtsa ba*) and ancillary (*yan lag*) commitments. This division, however, overlaps the above-mentioned division. While explaining the commitments of Kriyātantra, Rong-zom-pa, apart from presenting the different types of commitment related to this tantra, also explains the different terms given to such observations by the various tenet systems (for example, *'dul ba*, *brtul*

⁴⁵⁵ See also *'Od gsal snying po*, p. 152.

zhugs, dam tshig, etc.). When discussing the commitments of Yogatantra, he does not follow the division into general, special and additional commitments, but rather presents the commitments and the downfalls (*ltung ba*) which may occur. Rong-zom-pa then presents the general, special and additional commitments and the basic downfalls of the Mahāyoga, and in addition, also the commitments of Anuyoga and Atiyoga in brief. In the last part he explains how to take (*blang ba*) the commitments, and how to understand the symbolism (*rtags*) and "measure" (*tshad*) of the commitments. Finally, he also discusses the ritual of reviving the commitments when these have been broken (*nyams pa*).

A short scribe or editor colophon is followed by a prayer written by Go-rub Lo-tsā-ba Chos-kyi-shes-rab at the request of the "spiritual friend" rDo-rje-dbang-phyug.

• **List of contents:**

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Verses of Invocation	147b ₁ བཙུག་མཁའ་མཁའ་མཁའ་
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1.2.2.1.1. རྟེན་ལོ་སྤོངས་ཀྱི་བྱང་པར་གྱི་དམ་ཆེག་	165a ₄ རྟེན་ལོ་
1.2.2.1.2. སྤོངས་མའི་བྱང་པར་གྱི་དམ་ཆེག་	165b ₆ སྤོངས་མའི་
1.2.2.1.3. སྤོངས་པ་པོའི་བྱང་པར་གྱི་དམ་ཆེག་	166b ₁ སྤོངས་པ་
1.2.2.1.4. རྟེན་ལོ་སྤོངས་ཀྱི་བྱང་པར་གྱི་དམ་ཆེག་	170a ₄ རྟེན་ལོ་

⁴⁵⁶ Although the Tantric system referred to is not, either at the beginning or at the end of this paragraph and as far as I could see also not within the paragraph, explicitly mentioned, it seems to me, according to the structure of the text given in the introduction (fol. 150a₁) and according to some statements in other passages such as: *bya ba'i rgyud 'dir ni*... (fol. 171b₁), *yan lag gi dam tshig rnams kyang bya ba'i rgyud du ji skad du grags pa*... (fol. 215a₃), and *de yang bya ba'i rgyud du ni/ dam tshig dang spyod pa gtsor rgyas par bstan te*... (fol. 257b₄), that it very possibly is Kriyātantra (*bya rgyud*).

2.5.2. སྤྱད་པར་བྱ་བའི་དམ་ཚིག་	216b ₃ སྤྱད་པར་
2.5.3. སྤྱབ་པའི་དམ་ཚིག་	217a ₆ སྤྱབ་པའི་
2.6. བྱ་བ་དང་བྱ་བ་མ་ཡིན་པ་ལ་འདྲུག་པ་དང་ཐོག་པའི་མཚན་ཉིད་	
ཚིག་ཞིབ་མོ་བསྟན་པ་རྣམས་ཅུང་ཟད་བསྟན་པ་	218a ₁ གཞན་ཡང་
3. རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཆེན་པོའི་དམ་ཚིག་རྣམས་བསྟན་པ་ ⁴⁵⁷	222a ₆ ད་ནི་
3.1. ཅ་བའི་དམ་ཚིག་	222b ₁ ལ་ལ་
3.2. ཡན་ལག་གི་དམ་ཚིག་	240a ₃ ཡན་ལག་
3.2.1. མི་སྤང་བའི་དམ་ཚིག་ལྟ་	240b ₂ རེ་ལ་
3.2.2. དང་དྲུ་སྤང་བའི་དམ་ཚིག་ལྟ་	242b ₆ དང་དྲུ་
3.2.3. སྤྱད་པར་བྱ་བའི་དམ་ཚིག་ལྟ་	243a ₆ རེ་ལ་
3.2.4. ཤེས་པར་བྱ་བའི་དམ་ཚིག་ལྟ་	247b ₃ ཤེས་པར་
3.2.5. སྤྱབ་པར་བྱ་བའི་དམ་ཚིག་	247b ₄ བསྤྱབ་པར་
3.3. ཅ་བའི་ལྟ་	247b ₅ རྒྱལ་དེ་
3.4. སྤྱི་དང་ཁྱད་པར་དང་ལྷག་པའི་དམ་ཚིག་	247b ₆ གཞུང་ལ་
3.5. རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཆེན་པོའི་ཅུལ་འཕལ་གི་དམ་ཚིག་རྣམས་བསྟན་པ་	252a ₃ ད་ནི་
3.5.1. རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཆེན་པོ་	252b ₁ རེ་ལ་
3.5.2. ཇིས་སྤྱ་མཐུན་པའི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་	254b ₂ ད་ནི་
3.5.3. ཤིན་དྲུ་རྣལ་འབྱོར་	256a ₁ ད་ནི་
4. མདོར་བསྟུན་ ⁴⁵⁸	257b ₄ གཞན་ཡང་
5. དམ་ཚིག་ཇི་ལྟར་སྤང་བ་བཤད་པ་	259b ₄ ད་ནི་
6. དམ་ཚིག་ཅན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཐོམ་པ་བསྐྱང་བ་ལ་བསྟོན་བཤད་ཇི་ལྟར་བྱ་ཞིང་།	
རྟགས་དང་ཚད་ཤེས་པར་བྱ་བ་བསྟན་པ་	261a ₄ ད་ནི་
7. ཉམས་པ་རྣམས་བསྐྱང་བའི་ཚིག་བཤད་པ་	265a ₁ ད་ནི་

⁴⁵⁷ The term "Great Yoga" refers here to Mahāyoga as well as to Anu and Atiyoga as stated in fol. 252a₅: ...*rnal 'byor rnam pa gsum du phyed ste/ rnal 'byor chen po dang/ rjes su mthun pa'i rnal 'byor dang/ shin tu rnal 'byor ro// ...de dag thams cad kyang rnal 'byor chen po nyid kyi bye brag tsam du shes par bya'o//*.

⁴⁵⁸ This short summary refers to Kriyātantra, Yogatantra and Mahāyoga.

7.1. བྱ་བྱེད་ ⁴⁵⁹	265a ₂ རིལ་
7.2. རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཆེན་པོ་	266a ₃ རྣལ་འབྱོར་
First Old Manuscript Colophon	272b ₃ བློ་གྲོགས་
Second Old Manuscript Colophon: Prayer by Go-rub lo-tsa-ba	272b ₅ སྒྲུ་མ་
Xylograph Colophon	273a ₁ སྒྲུ་མ་

TEXT NO. 3-3; fols. 274-286b₆

TITLE:

- **on title page:** རིང་ཐོམ་ཆོས་བཟང་གིས་རང་སློབ་དམ་ཆོག་པ་རྣམས་ལ་གསུངས་པའི་བྱ་བ་
བཟུང་པའི་བཅའ་ཡིག་བཞུགས་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** བཅའ་ཡིག་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** སྒྲུ་མ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོ་
- **in other passages:** see title.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 13

INCIPIT:

འབྲུག་གི་ལོ། ཡུལ་རྩུ་ལག་གཙོང་སྤྲད་ཀྱི་བཅད་པོ་ཕ་བ་དེས། སའི་ཡང་དབོན་གྱུ་བྱ་སྤྲང་བཅན་
འབར་སྐྱེའུ་ཁབ་བཞེས་པ་ཙམ་གྱི་དུས་ན། རྒྱལ་ས་བཙུན་ཕྱེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བན་དེ་ཀུན་ཀྱང་། སོ་སའི་
ཕྱོམ་པ་དང་དམ་ཆོག་བསུང་བ་ལ་གཡེལ་ཞིང་།

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**
སྒྲུ་མ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོས་མཛད་པ་ཚྲོགས་སོ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** This work included in the YDPE twice: 1) under the above-mentioned title, Vol. 3, 35 pp. 2) under the title *Rong zom chos bzang gis mdzad pa'i dam bca'*, Vol. 3, 35 pp.
- **References to the text in other literature:** In the *Tho yig*, see Appendix A, 5.1.8.3.

⁴⁵⁹ Yogatantra has in this context the same type of ritual (see fol. 266a₃).

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

This is a note written by Rong-zom-pa for his disciples who took the tantric commitments upon themselves (*slob dam tshig pa rnams*). In the beginning of the note, it is stated that it was written in the dragon year (of the first or second cycle?),⁴⁶⁰ at a time when the Buddhist practitioners did not pay attention to keeping their vows and commitments and made no effort to observe them properly. For that reason, Rong-zom-pa gathered his disciples at a place called gNang Lung Rong and wrote(?) and made public this note which deals mainly with the tantric commitments of a lay practitioner. Rong-zom-pa presents first the five basic common trainings (*thun mong gi bslab pa'i gzhi lnga*) to be observed by lay yogis (*sngags pa khyim pa*) and the four basic generally common downfalls (*spyi thun mong rtsa ba'i ltung ba bzhi*) of the Mahāyāna including both the Dialectics Vehicle (*mtshan nyid theg pa*) and the Mantrayāna. He continues with the four special downfalls of the Mantrayāna where he also discusses the eight "adamantine fences" (*rdo rje rwa ba*) and the three "benefiting oaths" (*phan gdags pa'i bca' ba*).

- **List of contents:**

Title Page	274a
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Introduction	274b ₄ རེ་ལ་
1. ལྷན་སྦྲེལ་པ་ཀླུ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཐུན་མོང་གི་བསྐྱབ་པའི་གཞི་ལྟ་	275a ₃ རེ་ལ་
2. མཚན་ཉིད་དང་གསང་ལྷན་སྦྲེལ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་སྤྱི་ཐུན་མོང་ཅུ་བའི་ ལྷན་བ་བཞི་	276a ₂ རེ་ལ་
3. གསང་ལྷན་སྦྲེལ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཐུན་མོང་གི་བསྐྱབ་པའི་ཅུ་བའི་ ལྷན་བ་བཞི་	279b ₅ གསང་ལྷན་སྦྲེལ་
3.1. རྣམ་ཐོག་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱབ་པ་བཅུ་དྲུག་	280a ₄ རེ་ལ་
3.2. མཚན་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་འབྲེལ་བའི་གཟུང་ཐུག་པ་ལྟར་གསང་བ་བསྐྱབ་པ་	286a ₃ རེ་ལ་
Scribe or Editor Colophon	286b ₆ ལྷན་སྦྲེལ་

⁴⁶⁰ The most probable years would be 1064, 1076, 1088 or 1100.

TITLE:

- **on title page:** སྤྲེལ་མཚན་ཆའི་འགྲེལ་པ་སྤྲེལ་མ་རྩེ་ཐུག་ཆེས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོས་མཛད་པ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** སྤྲེལ་མཚན་ཆའི་འགྲེལ་
- **in scribe or editor colophon:** སྤྲི་བསྟན་བཅོས་སྤྲེལ་མཚན་ཆའི་འགྲེལ་པ་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe or editor colophon:** སྤྲེལ་མ་རྩེ་ཐུག་ཆེས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོ་
- **in other passages:** see title.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 37

INCIPIT:

འདིར་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཚུལ་པར་བཞེད་བས། བར་གཅོད་སྤང་བར་བྱ་བ་དང་། ཡ་རབས་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་
དང་མཐུན་པར་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར། དང་པོར་ཕྱག་འཆལ་ནས། དགོས་པ་ཁོང་དུ་ཚུད་པར་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར།
གང་ཞིག་བཤད་པར་བྱ་བར་དམ་བཅས་ནས།

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe or editor colophon:**
སྤྲེལ་མ་རྩེ་ཐུག་ཆེས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོས་མཛད་པའི་སྤྲི་བསྟན་བཅོས་སྤྲེལ་མཚན་ཆའི་འགྲེལ་བ་ཇོགས་སོ། །
དགེ།

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** In the YDPE, Vol. 3, 111 pp.
- **References to the text in other literature:** 1) In the *Tho yig*, see Appendix A, 6.1.1.8.
2) In Śākya-mchog-ldan's *smra sgo rnam bshad* (see also note 462).

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**
A commentary on the *Gateway to Language* (*smra sgo*), a work on Sanskrit and Tibetan grammar ascribed to Smṛtijñānakīrti.⁴⁶¹ The commentary, like the basic text,

⁴⁶¹ The identity of the author of this commentary is still unclear. Both the basic text and the commentary are included in the *bsTan 'gyur* (T 4295-6), where they are ascribed to Smṛtijñānakīrti. According to Verhagen, the basic text was most probably written by Smṛtijñāna (it is of special interest to note here that, according to Verhagen, the first part of the basic text appears to be a translation from Sanskrit, while the second part seems to be written in Tibetan), and the commentary was written either by Smṛti himself or by Rong-zom-pa who, according to Verhagen, was a direct disciple of Smṛti. Miller (1976, pp. 6 and 59) identifies Rong-zom-pa, who, according to him, was a reincarnation of Smṛti, as the author of the commentary. Elsewhere (1992, p. 580), however, Miller indicates Smṛti as the author

discusses three main topics 1) composites of letters (*yi ge'i tshogs*), 2) composites of words (*ming gi tshogs*) and 3) composites of phrases (*tshig gi tshogs*). While the first part of the work deals mostly with Sanskrit grammar, the second part deals with Tibetan grammar. This part mainly describes thirty-one particles (*phrad*) used in Tibetan, and then concludes with an explanation on the formation of compounds of particles (*phrad 'dus*).⁴⁶²

• **List of contents:**

Title Page	287a
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Homage (ཕྱག་འཚལ་བ་)	288a ₁ དེ་ལ་
Commitment (དམ་བཅའ་བ་)	288a ₃ གང་གི་
Explanation of the text (གཞུང་ཉིད་བསྟན་པ་) ⁴⁶³	288b ₁ ད་ནི་
1. ཡི་གེ་བསྟན་པ་	288b ₁ དང་པོ་
1.1. [ཡི་གེ་ཇི་ལྟར་འབྱུང་བ་བསྟན་པ་]	288b ₂ དེ་ཡང་
1.2. ཅ་བ་བདུན་ལས་དབྱེད་སྟེ་ཡི་གེ་བཅུ་དྲུག་ཏུ་འགྱུར་བ་བསྟན་པ་	289b ₅ ད་ནི་
1.3. དབྱེད་སྟེ་ཅ་བ་དེ་དག་ཅེ་ཅེ་ལ་ཡང་གསལ་བྱེད་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་དམ་ བཅུ་གཉིས་སུ་འགྱུར་བར་བསྟན་པ་	290a ₃ ད་ནི་
1.4. ངག་གི་འདུ་བྱེད་རྣམ་པ་བདུན་གྱི་དཔེ་བསྟན་པ་	291b ₂ ད་ནི་
1.5. ཡི་གེའི་དབྱིབས་དང་དེ་བཞག་པའི་གནས་བསྟན་པ་	292b ₂ ད་ནི་
1.6. རྩ་བདུན་ཚྭ་གསལ་པ་ལས་སྟོབ་ར་བསྟན་པ་	293a ₃ ད་ནི་
1.7. ངག་གི་འདུ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་རྩ་བཤད་པ་	294a ₆ ད་ནི་
1.8. ཡི་གེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་གདངས་ཀྱི་བྱེ་བྲག་བསྟན་པ་	295b ₂ ད་ནི་

of both the basic text and the commentary and adds that the commentary "has been, with reason, sometimes been suspect of being by another and different hand". According to Ngor-chen's *bsTan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag thub bstan rgyas pa'i nyi 'od* (p. 365, leaf. 4₃), this is an auto-commentary by Smṛtijñāna translated by dPyal Lo-tsa-ba. The NSTB identifies two different commentaries, one by Smṛti and one by Rong-zom-pa (see NSTB, Vol. 2, pp. 231 and 273).

⁴⁶² Sākya-mchog-ldan, in his commentary to the *Gateway to Language*, *sMra ba'i sgo mtshon cha lta bu'i bstan bcos kyi rnam bshad smra ba'i rgyan* (p. 233₃), states that he relied on the commentary of the mighty scholar (*mikhas pa'i dbang po*) Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po.

⁴⁶³ Due to a photocopy error, the back side of folio 288 is missing in my copy of the RZSB. The line numbers given here are reconstructed after a comparison with Yeshe De Project's edition of the RZSB.

1.9. ཡི་གེའི་ལྷང་ཚད་བཤད་པ་	297b ₂ ད་ནི་
1.10. ཡི་གེ་ནམས་ཀྱི་འདྲིན་པའི་ཆ་གས་ཀྱིས་རབ་དུ་དབྱི་བ་བསྟན་པ་	298a ₂ ད་ནི་
1.11. ཡི་གེའི་ངེས་ཚིག་བསྟན་པ་	300a ₁ ད་ནི་
1.12. ཡི་གེའི་ཚོགས་བསྟན་པ་	300a ₅ ད་ནི་
2. མིང་གི་ཚོགས་བསྟན་པ་	300b ₃ ད་ནི་
2.1. མིང་གི་ངོ་བོ་སྟགས་བསྟན་པ་	301a ₁ ད་ནི་
2.2. མིང་གི་དབྱི་བ་བསྟན་པ་	301a ₅ ད་ནི་
2.2.1. མིང་གི་ཐོག་མ་དང་། རྗེས་སུ་བྱུ་བ་པ་ནམ་པ་གཉིས་ ⁴⁶⁴	301a ₆ དེ་ཡང་
2.2.2. ཐུབ་པའི་མིང་དང་རྗེས་སུ་བྱུ་བ་པའི་མིང་དེ་དག་ཉིད་ གསལ་བར་བྱེད་པ་	301b ₄ ད་ནི་
3. ཚིག་གི་ཚོགས་བཤད་པ་	304b ₂ ད་ནི་
3.1. ཚིག་གི་སྒྲིབ་བ་བཅུ་བཤད་པ་	305a ₂ ད་ནི་
3.1.1. འབྲུ་མང་པོ་	305a ₅ ད་ནི་
3.1.2. ཚིག་ཕྱུད་	306a ₆ ད་ནི་
3.1.3. བྱད་པར་བསྐྱུ་བ་	307a ₃ ད་ནི་
3.1.4. ཡན་ལག་བསྐྱུ་བ་	307a ₄ ད་ནི་
3.1.5. གཞི་བསྐྱུ་བ་	307b ₂ ད་ནི་
3.1.6. གཞི་གཅིག་དུ་བསྐྱུ་བ་	307b ₃ ད་ནི་
3.1.7. གཞི་མཐུན་པའི་བསྐྱུ་བ་	307b ₅ ད་ནི་
3.1.8. དེའི་སྒྲིས་བྱ་	308a ₂ ད་ནི་
3.1.9. རྒྱས་དབྱི་བ་	310b ₃ ད་ནི་
3.1.10. བྱོགས་ཙམ་སྟོན་པ་	311a ₂ ད་ནི་
3.2. ཚིག་གི་སྤྱད་འཆད་པ་	311a ₅ ད་ནི་
3.2.1. སྤྱད་	311b ₂ དེ་ལྟར་
3.2.1.1. གང་	311b ₂ ཚིག་གི་

⁴⁶⁴ *Thog mar grub pa* is here synonymous to 'dod rgyal.

3.2.1.2. ཅི་ལ་སྟོགས་པ་	311b ₄ དེ་དང་...
3.2.1.3. ཇི་	311b ₆ ཇི་ཞེས་...
3.2.1.4. འདི་	312a ₆ འདི་ཞེས་...
3.2.1.5. ཏ་	312b ₆ ཏ་ནི་...
3.2.1.6. ཉ་	313a ₁ ཉ་ཞེས་...
3.2.1.7. མྱི་	314a ₂ ཏ་ནི་...
3.2.1.8. དང་	314b ₄ དང་གི་...
3.2.1.9. མྱི་	315a ₂ མྱི་ཞེས་...
3.2.1.10. ཀྱང་དང་ཡང་	315a ₆ ཀྱང་དང་...
3.2.1.11. ཁོ་ན་	315b ₅ ཏ་ནི་...
3.2.1.12. ཉིད་	316a ₆ ཉིད་ཀྱི་...
3.2.1.13. ཙམ་	316b ₂ ཙམ་གྱི་...
3.2.1.14. འབའ་ཞིག་ལ་སྟོགས་	316b ₄ དེ་དང་...
3.2.1.15. ཡང་དག་ལ་སྟོགས་	316b ₅ ཏ་ནི་...
3.2.1.16. རྒྱལ་	317a ₁ ཏ་ནི་...
3.2.1.17. བཞིན་ལ་སྟོགས་	317b ₁ བཞིན་ལ་...
3.2.1.18. ཅིང་ལ་སྟོགས་	317b ₃ ཅིང་ལ་...
3.2.1.19. ལ་	317b ₅ ཏ་ནི་...
3.2.1.20. ཀྱི་	318a ₃ རྒྱག་པའི་...
3.2.1.21. ཀྱིས་	318a ₄ བསྐྱམ་པའི་...
3.2.1.22. ལས་	318a ₆ ལྟ་པའི་...
3.2.1.23. མས་	318b ₂ མས་ཀྱི་...
3.2.1.24. ཏུ་ལ་སྟོགས་	318b ₆ ཏུ་ལ་...
3.2.1.25. འོ་ལ་སྟོགས་	319a ₄ སྒྲ་རྒྱུད་...
3.2.1.26. འོ་ན་	319a ₅ ཏ་ནི་...
3.2.1.27. འམ་	319b ₁ འམ་ཞེས་...

3.2.1.28. དག་དང་རྣམས་	319b ₂ དག་དང་
3.2.1.29. སྟོགས་	319b ₃ སྟོགས་ནི་
3.2.1.30. པའམ་ཅན་	319b ₄ པའམ་ཅན་
3.2.1.31. བ་	319b ₅ དེ་ཉིད་
3.2.2. སྤྲད་འདུས་པ་	320a ₂ ད་ནི་
3.2.3. སྤྲད་རྣམས་དོན་གཅིག་དུ་བྲིལ་བ་	321b ₃ ད་ནི་
4. ཡི་གེ་དང་མིང་དང་ཆོག་དག་དོན་གཏན་ལ་འབེབས་པར་བྱེད་པའི་	
ཅ་བ་ཡིན་པར་བསྟན་པ་	322a ₄ ད་ནི་
Dedication (བསྐྱེད་བ་)	323a ₃ ད་ནི་
Scribe or Editor Colophon	323b ₁ སྒྲ་མ་

SUPPLEMENT

TEXT NO. 3-A; fols. [324-329 b₂]

TITLE:

- **on title page:** ཇི་ཆུམ་མྱ་བྱས་མཛད་པའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་གྲངས་གྱི་ཐོ་ཡིག་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** རྣམ་གྲངས་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in scribe colophon:** most probably རྩོད་པ་མི་དབྱུང་ (compiler)

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 6

INCIPIT:

ཇི་ཆུམ་མྱ་བྱས་ཀྱི་བཤེས་རབ་དང་ཐུགས་ཇི་ཕུལ་དུ་བྱུང་བ་དེས། མཛད་ཆོས་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་
པའི་སྟོ་སྟོ་ཀ་འབུམ་ཐེ་གཅིག་སྤྱར་བར་ཇི་ཆེན་པོ་ཉིད་བཞུགས་པའི་དུས་ན་གྲགས་ཀྱང་། ངེས་
པའི་དོན་དུ་བཀའ་རྒྱུ་འབྲིང་གསུམ་པས་མི་ཆད་པ་དངོས་ཅག་གི་སྤྲུལ་དུ་བྱོན་ཏེ།

COLOPHONS:

- **Scribe colophon:**

འདི་ཚེ་མ་ཐེ་བའི་མང་པོ་ཡོད། བརྒྱད་ཡིག་དང་ཚོགས་ཡིག་ལ་སོགས་པའོ། ཡི་གེ་འདི་རྩེད་པ་
མི་དཔུང་གིས་ཉིས་བར་བདུས་པར་སྒྲུང་ངོ། །དེ་སྤྱི་མ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཅུང་ཟད་བྱས་པར་བཅོས་པའོ། །
སྤྱི་མ་མི་དཔུང་གིས་བཅུ་མས་དཔེའི་ཕྱག་ཡིག་དངོས་ལ་སྤྱི་མ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཅུང་ཟད་བྱས་པར་མཆན་
དུ་བཏབ་པ་ལས་ཞལ་བ་བྱས་སོ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** In the YDPE, Vol. 3, 15 pp.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**

This is an incomplete list of Rong-zom-pa's works. The works are arranged in seven categories, and mainly provides the number of works written by Rong-zom-pa on a certain topic and their size (he does not indicate the number of folios but rather uses words such as "short", "intermediate" and "long"). In some cases he provides what seems to be short titles.⁴⁶⁵

According to the scribe colophon, this register was most probably arranged by Rong-pa Me-dpung. It further states that the Lama himself (*bla ma nyid*) (Rong-zom-pa?) corrected the list and that this version was copied down from the manuscript which bore the annotations (*mchan*) inserted by the Lama.

- **List of contents:**

Title Page	1a
Introduction	1b ₁ རྩེ་རྒྱ་
1. དངོས་པོ་དག་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་དུ་བསྒྲིགས་ཏེ་སྟན་པ་	2a ₄ དེ་ལ་
2. དེ་ཉིད་བཅུ་སྟན་	2b ₂ དེ་ཉིད་
3. བསྐྱབ་པའི་མཐའ་སྟན་པ་	2b ₃ བསྐྱབ་པའི་
4. བསྟན་བསྐྱབ་སྟན་པ་	2b ₄ བསྟན་བསྐྱབ་
5. སྟོད་པ་གསུམ་ལ་དགོངས་ཏེ་མངའ་པར་གྲགས་པ་	3b ₆ སྟོད་པ་
6. གཞི་ལམ་འབྲས་བྱ་གསུམ་ལ་	5b ₁ གཞི་ལམ་

⁴⁶⁵ See also the introduction, pp. 12-17, and Appendix A.

7. ཐུན་མིང་ཁྱད་པར་སྟོན་པ་ 6a₃ ཐ་མ་

Scribe Colophon 6a₆ འདི་ཚེར་

TEXT NO. 3-B; fols. [330-336b₄]

TITLE:

- **on title page:** དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉིན་ཆེན་པོ་ཚས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** རྣམ་པར་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

A) First Part (fols. 1-5b₆):

- **in colophon:** ལྟག་ཆལ་ཁམ་བུ་པ་ཡོལ་དགེ་བསྟོན་རྟོ་ཆེ་དབང་ཕུག
- **in other passages:**⁴⁶⁶ ཡོལ་སྟོན་རྟོ་ཆེ་དབང་ཕུག

B) Second Part (fols. 5b₆-7a₃):

- **in colophon:** གཡག་རྟོ་ཆེ་འཛིན་པ་ཆེན་པོ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 7

INCIPIT:

དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉིན་ཆེན་པོ་རིང་ཟོམ་ཚས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོ་ཞེས་བྲ་བ། བོད་ཀྱི་པརྟེ་ཏ་ཆེན་པོར་
གྲགས་པ་དེ་ནི། བོད་རྩ་བཞིའི་ནང་ནས་རྩ་ལག་གཙང་སྟངས་ཀྱི་སྒྲར་གྲུང་རིང་དུ་སྒྲུ་འབྲུངས་ཏེ། དེ་
བས་རྩུང་སྒྲ་བར་ཡུལ་ཁམས་སྟུ།

COLOPHONS:

A) First Part (fols. 1-5b₆):

- **Author colophon:**
དེ་ཙམ་ཞིག་ཡོན་ཏན་དང་ལྷན་པ་དེའི་བསྟུགས་པ་མ་བཟོད་ན། གང་ཟག་གཞན་ཁ་ཅིག་སྒྲུས་མེད་
པར་མ་བཟླས་བཞིན་དུ་སྒྲོ་སྒྲར་སྒྲ་ཚོགས་སྒྲས་པས་སྒྲིབ་པ་སོགས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཕན་⁴⁶⁷པ་ཡང་
སྟོན་པའི་ཕྱིར་དང། སྒྲ་མ་ཆེན་པོ་དེ་ཉིད་དང། དེའི་ཚས་ལྷགས་ལ་མོས་པར་འགྱུར་བར་བྲ་བའི་
ཕྱིར། ལྟག་ཆལ་ཁམ་བུ་པ་ཡོལ་དགེ་བསྟོན་རྟོ་ཆེ་དབང་ཕུག་གིས། སྒྲ་མ་དམ་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་གཞན་

⁴⁶⁶ See the table of contents of Vol. 3, fol. [342a₅].

⁴⁶⁷ Text reads *pa na*.

ལས་ཀྱང་ཡང་དང་ཡང་དུ་ཐོས་པ་རྣམས་ཡི་གེར་བཀོད་པ་སྟེ། དེའི་དགོངས་བས་བདག་དང་འགྲོ་བ་
 ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པའི་ཡི་གེས་སྟུར་དུ་ཐོབ་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག །སྟེ་ཆེ་བའི་ཡོན་⁴⁶⁸
 དན་ཅུང་ཟད་ཡི་གེར་བཀོད་པ་ཚོགས་སོ། །

B) Second Part (fols. 5b₆-7a₃):

• **Scribe colophon:**

གཡག་རྩི་ཆེ་འཛིན་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཕྱག་ནས་ཁྱས་ནས། གཉགས་སྟོན་ཆེན་པོས་བྲིས་པའི་ཕྱག་དཔེ་
 ལས་སེའི་ཇོ་སྤྲས་ཀྱི་བྲི་པའོ།

– **Author:** སེའི་ཇོ་སྤྲས་

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** In the YDPE, Vol. 3, 18 pp.
- **References to the text in other literature:** In Akhu rin-po-che's *dPe rgyun dkon pa 'ga' zhig gi tho yig*, in MHTL, Vol. 3, p. 506.

SUBJECT MATTER:

• **General description:**

This biography of Rong-zom is, in fact, two different biographies written by two of Rong-zom-pa's disciples put together. The first biography written by Yol dGe-bsnyen rDo-rje-dbang-phyug is the longer of the two. The biography by g.Yag rDo-rje-'dzin-pa provides mostly new information and seems to complement the first one. In addition to these two biographies, there is a supplementary part which includes Rong-zom-pa's family lineage.⁴⁶⁹ This work seems to have been passed down through the generations in this form and served as the basis for the later biographies.⁴⁷⁰

While the first biography has an author colophon in which Yol dGe-bsnyen rDo-rje-dbang-phyug specifies his reasons for writings this biography, the second biography includes only a scribe colophon by Se'i-jo-sras. There it is stated that this text was copied down from a manuscript written by gNyags-ston-chen-po. The latter wrote it down from a manuscript he asked for and received from g.Yag rDo-rje-'dzin-pa himself.

⁴⁶⁸ Text reads *yan*.

⁴⁶⁹ The author, or rather the source, of this supplementary part, is unknown.

⁴⁷⁰ See also the introduction pp. 24-37.

- **List of contents:**

Title Page	1a ₁
ནམ་ཐར་ (first part by Yol rDo-rje-dbang-phyug)	1b ₁ དགེ་བའི་...
Author Colophon	5b ₃ དེ་ཙམ་...
ནམ་ཐར་ (second part by gYag rDo-rje-'dzin-pa-chen-po)	5b ₆ ལྷུ་ལ་པའི་...
Scribe Colophon	7a ₃ གཡག་རྩོ་...
Supplement: Rong-zom-pa's Family Lineage	7a ₃ རྩོ་བཅ་

TEXT NO. 3-C; fols. [337-338b₂]

TITLE:

- **in title:** དཔལ་རྩོ་ཟླ་པའི་ཏ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྤྲུལ་མའི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་གྱི་ཆུབ་ས་ཆར་འབེབས་
- **Abbreviated title in margin:** སྤྲུལ་མའི་

AUTHOR'S NAME:

- **in author colophon:** མི་ཡམ་རྣལ་པར་སྤྲུལ་བ་

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 2

INCIPIT:

རང་ལུས་རྩོ་རྣལ་འབྱོར་མར་གསལ་བའི། སྤྱི་བོར་འདབ་སྤྲོད་ཉི་ཟླ་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་དབུས། །
 སྤྲུལ་ཀུན་མཁྱེན་རབ་ངོ་བོ་འཇམ་པའི་དབུང་ས། རྣམ་པ་སྐྱབས་གནས་ཀུན་འདུས་སྤྲུལ་མའི་ཚུལ།

COLOPHONS:

- **Author colophon:**
 རྣལ་འདི་ལ་མཆོག་ཏུ་མཆོས་པ་ལུང་དང་རིགས་པ་སྤྲོ་ཞིང་སྤྱབ་པ་ལ་བཙུན་པ་མདོ་ཡུགས་ཀྱིས་
 བསྐྱུལ་ངོ་ལ། མཚུངས་མེད་མ་ཏུ་པའི་ཏ་ཆེན་པོའི་རྩོ་སྤྲུལ་འཇུག་པར་ཁས་འཆི་བ་མི་ཡམ་རྣམ་
 པར་སྤྲུལ་བས་ཟླ་ཆེས་བཟང་པོ་ལ་བྲིས་པ་དགའོ། མཁྲ་ལྟོ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** In the YDPE, Vol. 3, 7 pp.

- **General description:**

- **List of contents:**

Author Colophon 2b₁ နှုတ်ခမ်း

TITLE:

- AUTHOR'S NAME:**

- **in author colophon:** གྲྭ་གྲུལ་པ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་མཁྱིལ་བཙུག་པའི་དབང་པོ་ (see colophon)

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:

- **Number of folios:** 3

INCIPIT:

ཐུ་གར་སྐད་དུ། མ་དུ་པརྟེ་ད་ཆམ་མ་དེ་ཉུའི་པ་རྟེ་བྱ་རྟེ་ནི་སྐྱི་གྲ་མི་ཙ་ལ་རྟེ་མཆོ་ བོད་སྐད་དུ།
མཁས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོ་ལ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ་དད་པའི་བླ་སྐྱབས་མངོན་པར་གཡོ་བ་
ཞེས་བྱ་བ། །དཔལ་ངག་གི་དབང་ཕྱག་ལ་ཕྱག་འཆལ་ལོ། །

COLOPHONS:

- **Author colophon:**

ཞེས་གངས་ཅིའི་ཁྱོད་ཙམ་ན་སྤུལ་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་མ་དུ་པརྟེ་ད་ནམ་སྤང་མཆོག་གི་སྤུལ་པའི་སྤྱུ་འོང་
ཟེས་ཆེན་པོ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བཟང་པོའི་ནམ་པར་ཐར་པ་ཡི་གི་རྟེང་པ་ལས་ཇི་ལྟར་འབྱུང་བ་ཆ་ཙམ་

⁴⁷¹ For other titles in Sanskrit and Tibetan, see also the incipit.

གཞིར་བཞོད་དེ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ་དང་། །ཐིག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚུལ་ལ་འབྲུག་པ་དང་། །སྤྲིང་
 པོའི་ལམ་རིམ་བྱང་འབྲེལ་གྱི་ཚུལ་སྒྲིན་ལམ་དུ་བགྱིས་པའི་ཆོགས་སུ་བཅད་པ་ཉུང་དུ་འདིའང་སྟེ་
 མོ་བྱེ་མཁར་གྱི་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་བེ་རོ་ཙ་ན་རུ་བསམ་བཞིན་དུ་སྤྲིད་པ་ཉི་ལེ་བར་བཟུང་བ་སྐུལ་
 སྤྲུལ་དོ་མེ་འཆང་གཞན་པམ་མཐའ་ཡས་འོད་ཟེར་གྱི་ཐུགས་དགོངས་ཚེགས་པའི་ཆེད་དང་བསྐྱབ་
 གསུམ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་མཛོད་འཛིན་དགེ་སྤྲོད་དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་མཉུ་གྲི་སྒྲི་སྒྲི་ག་རས་ལྟང་ར་ལྟ་སྒྲི་
 འཆི་མེད་དགའ་ཚལ་ནས་བཟླ་གིས་པའི་ལྟ་རྟེན་དང་བཅས་ནན་དྲན་ཆེན་པོས་བསྐྱུལ་བ་ལྟར། །
 གྲུ་བུལ་བ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་མཁྱིན་བཅུའི་དབང་པོས་རབ་ཡིད་ལྷགས་སྤྲེལ་ལོའི་ཆུ་ཕྱོད་ཁྲི་བའི་
 ཆོས་བཞི་སྐུལ་བས་ཆོས་འཁོར་བསྐྱོར་བའི་དུས་ཆེན་ལ་དཔལ་ལྷན་གྱུ་བ་སྤྲོད་གི་ཆོས་གྲུ་བྱིས་ཏེ་
 ཕྱི་གཅིག་གསུལ་སུ་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པ་དགེ་ལེགས་འཕེལ། །མཛེས་ལོ། །

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL:

- **Other editions:** In the YDPE, Vol. 3, 11 pp.

SUBJECT MATTER:

- **General description:**
 A prayer to and eulogy of Rong-zom-pa written by 'Jam-dbyangs-mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po. In the colophon, he states that he wrote this prayer in order to accomplish the aspiration (*thugs dgongs rdzogs pa'i ched*) of gZhan-phan-mtha'-yas and at the request of the fully ordained monk 'Jam-dpal-rgya-mtsho (Manyju-shrī-sā-ga-ra). He further states that he used an old biography of Rong-zom-pa as a main source for writing this prayer and also included the works *Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa* and *sNying po'i lam rim*. The date and place of composition are given as the 4th day of the 6th month (*chu stod*) of the iron-monkey year (*lcags sprel lo*) (1860) in the monastery (*chos grwa*) of dPal lHun-grub-steng (i.e., the sDe-dge-dgon-chen).

- **List of contents:**

Titles	1a ₁
སྐུ་བསྐྱོད་	1a ₂ དཔལ་འབྱོར་གྱི་སྐུ་བསྐྱོད་
Author Colophon	3a ₆ ཞེས་གངས་པོ་

ཐེམ་བྱང་ (Table of Contents); fol. [342a₁-a₆]

This table of contents includes the complete titles of the works in vol. 3 and their length.

ཐུར་བྱང་ (Xylograph Colophon); fols. [343a₁-345a₆]

For further details on this xylograph colophon by Padma-kun-grol, see *General Description of the Collected Writings*, p. 122-126.

List of Abbreviations

NNI - Ngagyur Nyingma Institute

NNS - Ngagyur Nyingmay Sungrab

NSTB - *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, G. Dorje and M. Kapstein,
Transls.

NyKG - *rNying ma bka' ma rgyas pa*

RZKB - *Rong zom bka' 'bum*

RZSB - *Rong zom gsung 'bum*; the Shrī-seng edition

S - Shrī-seng (Śrī-simha) edition

SKKB - *Sa skya bka' 'bum*

SThB - *gSung thor bu*, Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po

T - Thimphu edition

VOHD - *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*

YDPE - *Rong zom gsung 'bum*; Yeshe De Project edition

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Works of Rong-zom-pa Listed by Rong-pa Me-dpung in His *rJe dharma bha dras mdzad pa'i chos kyi rnam grangs kyi tho yig*.⁴⁷²

I. The three main sets of works on the three trainings (*bslab pa gsum*).⁴⁷³

- A. Three works—short, [intermediate]⁴⁷⁴ and long—regarding view and meditation (*lta sgom*)
- B. Three commentaries—short, [intermediate] and long
- C. Two brief-and-extensive (*mdo rgyas*) works—short and long

II. The author's works listed according to seven categories:

1. Works on the nine main elements of the tantra (*dnegos po dgu*):

- 1.1. *gSang snying gi 'grel pa*⁴⁷⁵
- 1.2. *mNyam sbyor gyi 'grel pa*⁴⁷⁶
- 1.3. *gShin rje'i gshed kyi rtog pa spyi'i byung tshul gyi yi ge*
- 1.4. *gSang 'dus kyi khog 'bugs*
- 1.5. *mNyam sbyor gyi khog 'bugs*
- 1.6. *Kun 'dus kyi khog 'bugs*
- 1.7. *gSang rgyud kyi khog 'bugs*⁴⁷⁷
- 1.8. *Zhags pa'i khog 'bugs*
- 1.9. *Le*⁴⁷⁸ *lag gi sa ma fi ka*
- 1.10. Seven minor and major summarizing outlines (*stong 'thun*, sic.) regarding the nine main substances of the tantra⁴⁷⁹

2. Works regarding the ten kinds of realities (*de nyid bcu*):

⁴⁷² RZSB Vol. 3, fols. 324-329; See also the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 3-A. On the method of arrangement of the works, etc., see the introduction, pp. 12-17.

⁴⁷³ These three sets of works seem to correspond with the three texts on the three trainings mentioned by Mi-pham (see my translation, p. 87). In this case the first group would be on the training of discriminative awareness (*shes rab*), the second group would be on the training of concentration (*ting nge 'dzin*) and the third on the training of moral discipline (*tshul khrims*).

⁴⁷⁴ The Tibetan reads *che chung gsum*, which obviously implies a third work of intermediate size.

⁴⁷⁵ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 1-3. Rong-pa Me-dpung mentions this commentary twice in his list: here under the category of the nine substances of the tantra—that refers mainly to the introductory part of this work (see *ibid.*, Introduction, paragraph no. f.4.)—and under the category of works on the foundation (see this list, no. 6.1.1.1.)

⁴⁷⁶ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 3-1.

⁴⁷⁷ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, texts no. 1-1. and 1-2.

⁴⁷⁸ Text reads *le'u*; this text is, according to Klong-chen-pa, one of the *sgyu 'phrul sde brgyad* and, according to the Zur tradition, one of the *bshad rgyud sde brgyad*.

⁴⁷⁹ The RZSB includes only one work of this kind; see the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 2-11.

- 2.1. A work based on the Illusionary Net of Vairocana (*rNam snang sgyu drwa*) written by him for rNgul Byang-chub-shes-rab and other similar works
3. Works regarding the ten types of training systems (*bslab mtha'*):
 - 3.1. Minor and major works on the ten types of training systems which are based on the [Sūtra that] Gathers All (kun 'dus),⁴⁸⁰ etc.
4. Works regarding the four branches of Ritual Service and Evocation (*bsnyen bsgrub*).⁴⁸¹
 - 4.1. Works on common Ritual Service (*snyen pa thun mong*), that is, approaching the deity by means of meditation, offering and recitation:
 - 4.1.1. [Two] manuals—short and long—for meditation on the peaceful and wrathful deities (*zhi khro'i sgom khog*)
 - 4.1.2. Three manuals—short, [intermediate] and long—for Vajrāmṛta⁴⁸² ritual (*bdu rtsi'i las byang*)
 - 4.1.3. *Las kyi tho*
 - 4.1.4. *Man ngag rna brgyud chung ngu*
 - 4.1.5. Three works on Ritual Service: *rgya gar bla ma*, *sman gyi rigs dbye ba* and *dpal yang dag*, etc.
 - 4.1.6. The minor work *Ru lu*⁴⁸³ 'dzab dgongs kyi yi ge
 - 4.1.7. The minor⁴⁸⁴ work *Ro sgrub kyi yi ge*
 - 4.1.8. *Thod brtag*
 - 4.1.9. Minor and major works on Ritual Service which condense the four classes of the Vajrakīla⁴⁸⁵ instructions (*phur bu lung sde bzhi*) into one
 - 4.1.10. Three works—[short], intermediate and long—on [*Yi dam*] *nar ma*⁴⁸⁶
 - 4.1.11. *Phreng ba'i rgyud*
 - 4.1.12. *Rigs bstan pa*
 - 4.1.13. Four works on the seven, twenty-one and so forth branches of recitation (*bzlas brjod kyi yan lag*)⁴⁸⁷
 - 4.1.14. *mTshan brjod kyi 'grel ba sgrub thabs*, etc.⁴⁸⁸
 - 4.2. Works on Special Ritual Service (*khyad par gyi bsnyen pa*):
 - 4.2.1. Twenty-nine brief-and-extensive (*mdo rgyas*) works of instructions on non-conceptualizing meditation (*rnam par mi tog pa'i sgom*) which establishes the Mind of Enlightenment⁴⁸⁹, etc.

⁴⁸⁰ Anuyoga texts are compiled in two sections, Sūtra (*mdo*) and Āgama (*lung*). This Anuyoga tantra belongs, as it is shown by its title, to the Sūtra section.

⁴⁸¹ The *rNam thar* mentions the existence of six works on "transformable rituals" (*las kha bsgyur drug pa*). These works are not mentioned in Rong-pa's list, either under this category of Ritual Service and Evocation or under the following category of works on the three conducts which includes a considerable number of works on rituals.

⁴⁸² One of the *bKa' brgyad*.

⁴⁸³ Another one of the *bKa' brgyad*.

⁴⁸⁴ Text reads *phran tsho* instead of *phran tsheg*.

⁴⁸⁵ Still another one of the *bKa' brgyad*.

⁴⁸⁶ See also 4.4.24.

⁴⁸⁷ The RZSB includes only one work dealing with recitation in general; see the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 2-14.

⁴⁸⁸ The only work included in the RZSB on Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti is the commentary on this tantra; see the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 1-6.

- 4.3. Works on Evocation (*sgrub pa*): numerous texts⁴⁹⁰
- 4.4. Works on Great Evocation (*sgrub pa chen po*):
 - 4.4.1. *sPyi'i las mde'u*
 - 4.4.2. Three works—short, [intermediate] and long—on offering ritual (*tshegs kyi las mde'u*)
 - 4.4.3. Ritual manuals for: *khör skyung*, *bsgrags*, *gsang*, *rdo rje sems dpa'* *dbugs dbyung* and *gnyer lnga'i las byang*
 - 4.4.4. *dPal gshin rje gshed po'i dngos grub gnad la dbab pa*
 - 4.4.5. Four major and minor works on [long] life accomplishments (*tshe sgrub pa*)⁴⁹¹ which are based on the *Illusionary [Net] of Vajrasattva* (*rDo rje sems dpa'i sgyu 'phrul*)
 - 4.4.6. Two works—short and long—based on the [*Sūtra which*] *Gathers All* (*kun 'dus*)
 - 4.4.7. Selected writings on [long] life ceremony (*tshe chog*) based on *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra* (*Ngan song sbyong rgyud*)⁴⁹²
 - 4.4.8. A short work based on Vajrakīla (*phur bu*)
 - 4.4.9. *Zhags pa'i mngon rtogs zhi khro gnyis*
 - 4.4.10. *bDe bstan gyi mngon rtogs*
 - 4.4.11. *dNgos grub la sbyor tshul*
 - 4.4.12. *dNgos grub spyi'i 'byung tshul*
 - 4.4.13. *dByung thabs*
 - 4.4.14. *'Byung dus*
 - 4.4.15. *dNgos grub kyi mtshan ma brtag pa*
 - 4.4.16. Two works—short and long—on the Nāga Attainment(?) (*klu sgrub*)⁴⁹³
 - 4.4.17. *Sher phyin mchod pa*
 - 4.4.18. *rDo rje sems dpa'i chig sgrub*
 - 4.4.19. *Kun bzang gi chig sgrub*
 - 4.4.20. *rNam snang gi chig sgrub*
 - 4.4.21. *'Jam dpal gyi chig sgrub*
 - 4.4.22. *gShin rje gshed po'i chig sgrub*
 - 4.4.23. *Zhe sdang rdo rje bskyed pa*
 - 4.4.24. *Yi dam nar ma*
 - 4.4.25. Three works—short, [intermediate] and long—on the offering ritual of the adamantine maṇḍala of the glorious Yamāntaka (*dpal gshin rje gshed kyi rdo rje'i dkyil 'khör mchod pa'i cho ga*)
 - 4.4.26. *dGra nag gi mngon rtogs*
 - 4.4.27. Two works—short and long—known as *Pra khog bslang gi las byang cho ga thams cad par byas pa*

⁴⁸⁹ "Mind of Enlightenment" here might be understood as Self-arisen Primordial Gnosis (*rang byung ye shes*) or as the "inborn state of the mind" (*gnyug sems*) as it is very often understood by the rNying-ma-pas from the view point of the Great Perfection.

⁴⁹⁰ The author says that due to the great number of texts written by Rong-zom-pa on this matter he was not able to collect them all, and therefore mentions them briefly, indicating that there are numerous such texts (see fol. 326a).

⁴⁹¹ The *rNam thar* mentions (fol. 333a) one work (or work-cycle?) of such [long] life accomplishments.

⁴⁹² Mi-pham too mentions such works by Rong-zom (see my translation, p. 88); nonetheless, there are no works on this tantra included in the RZSB.

⁴⁹³ The *rNam thar* mentions (fol. 333a) the work or the work-cycle called *Klu chen po brgyad kyi tshegs*. It seems to me that this might refer to the same texts mentioned here by Rong-pa Me-dpung.

- 4.4.28. *bsNyen sgrub*
- 4.4.29. Three [three-work sets] of esoteric instructions—short, [intermediate] and long—regarding practice such as the three short, [intermediate] and long works which survey [different topics such as] water (or urin?) consumption (?) (*chu rngub*), etc., conduct (*spyod lam*) and elements (or sperm?) (*kham*s)
- 4.4.30. *Jo btsun gyi phrin yig chen po*
- 4.4.31. *Lo sgom lo gcig dgra dang 'gras pa'i dge ba*
- 4.4.32. *gTor ma bgegs la mi 'chor bar bya ba'i yi ge*
5. Works regarding the three conducts (*spyod pa gsum*):
- 5.1. Works on the conduct of engagement (*'jug pa'i spyod pa*):
- 5.1.1. *dBang la spyi khog*⁴⁹⁴
- 5.1.2. *Rab tu byed pa*
- 5.1.3. *No pi ka*
- 5.1.4. *Tho yig*
- 5.1.5. *Tho byang bsodus pa*
- 5.1.6. *sDom pa bzung ba*
- 5.1.7. *'Jug pa'i cho ga yan lag bdun pa*
- 5.1.8. Works on the tantric commitments (*dam tshig*):
- 5.1.8.1. [One long and one] short brief-and-extensive (*mdo rgyas*) work written for Go-rub Lo-tsā-ba⁴⁹⁵
- 5.1.8.2. A brief work written for rDo-btsun bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan
- 5.1.8.3. *gNang bkag rwa ba brgyad pa'i bca' yig*⁴⁹⁶
- 5.1.8.4. *Nyi shu rtsa brgyad pa'i nyams su blang ba'i gdams pa*
- 5.1.8.5. *Dam tshig gi spyir btsun par bya ba'i gdams pa*
- 5.1.8.6. *Dam tshig gi rtsa ba mdor bsodus*
- 5.1.8.7. *rTsa ba mdor bsodus pa chung ba*, and many other countless works
- 5.1.9. Esoteric instructions (*man ngag*):
- 5.1.9.1. Works regarding the five earlier translations (*snga 'gyur lnga*):⁴⁹⁷ nineteen minor and major various works such as the two main commentaries—a chapter commentary and a word commentary—on the *Great Space* (*Nam mkha' che*),⁴⁹⁸ etc.
- 5.1.9.2. Works on the five lamps (*sgron ma lnga*): there are known to be seven various works, etc. and many other minor and major works regarding the meaning (or significance ?) of the meditation of the Great Perfection
- 5.2. Works on the conduct of attaining the accomplishments (*dnegos grub sgrub pa'i spyod pa*): the eleven works mentioned above in the category of Ritual Service and Evocation (*bsnyen sgrub*),⁴⁹⁹ etc.

⁴⁹⁴ Although no text under this title is included in the RZSB, this might refer to *dBang gi rab tu byed pa*; see the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 2-12.

⁴⁹⁵ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 3-2.

⁴⁹⁶ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 3-3. Whether he refers here also to *Dam tshig gnang bkag* (no. II-13) is unclear.

⁴⁹⁷ This refer to the first five of the so-called "Eighteen Mother and Child Texts of the Mind Section" (*sems sde ma bu bco brgyad*) of Atiyoga. These five works, which were translated by Vairocana, are referred to as the "five earlier translations", and the other thirteen texts, which were translated by his disciple gYu-sgra-snying-po, are referred to as the "thirteen later translations".

⁴⁹⁸ This is the fifth work among the five earlier translations.

⁴⁹⁹ It is unclear to me to which eleven works he refers here.

- 5.3. Works on the conduct of spontaneous attainment (*grub pa'i spyod pa*):
- 5.3.1. *Rab gnas kyi rtsa ba*⁵⁰⁰
- 5.3.2. *Mig rkang gnyis* (? or two works on...?)
- 5.3.3. Five or six works of *rkang pa chung ngu sku khrus gsol ba*
- 5.3.4. *He ru ka las kyi bzlas pa*⁵⁰¹
- 5.3.5. *Mar gyi gnas bdun*
- 5.3.6. *Yi dam nar ma*
- 5.3.7. Three short works on *dpal gyi gtor*
- 5.3.8. Two works—short and long—on *rdo rje sems dpa'i sgyu 'phrul gyi kha sgyur drug pa*
- 5.3.9. *sByin bsreg gi de kho na nyid*
- 5.3.10. *Ro bsreg gi rtsa ba*⁵⁰²
- 5.3.11. *Rigs drug chung ngu*
- 5.3.12. Thirteen works on cremation written for the sake of Se-'phro dBang-phyug-rgya-mtshod and dBul-ston rDor-bsod.⁵⁰³
- 5.3.12.1. *gDags yig skos gdab*
- 5.3.12.2. *'Dzab bskul*
- 5.3.12.3. *bShags byang*
- 5.3.12.4-5. Two works on the *stangs 'dzin* ritual
- 5.3.12.6-7. Two works on stars (*skar ma* ?)
- 5.3.12.8-9. Two prayers for elevating and abiding on the stage (*sa 'phar gnas kyi smon lam*)
- 5.3.12.10-11. Two works on the path (*lam bstan*)
- 5.3.12.12-13. Two works on the *zas gtad* ritual
- 5.3.13. *'Jam dpal zhi khro gnyis*
- 5.3.14. *dGra nag gi sbyin sreg*
- 5.3.15. *Phur pa'i sbyin sreg*
- 5.3.16. *Zhags pa'i rigs sngags bcad pa'i sbyin bsreg*, and thirty-one other works which deal with fire offering in general
- 5.3.17. *Sa che'i bstod pa*
- 5.3.18. Seven works on *sa tsha*⁵⁰⁴
- 5.3.18.1. *sGyu 'phrul gyi sa tsha*
- 5.3.18.2. *Drag po'i sa tsha*⁵⁰⁵
- 5.3.18.3. *Phur pa'i sa tsha*
- 5.3.18.4-5. *'Jam dpal zhi khro gnyis kyi sa tsha*
- 5.3.18.6. *rDo rje sems dpa' chig sgrub kyi sa tsha*
- 5.3.18.7. *gDon zhi ba'i sa tsha*
- 5.3.19. Three works—short, [intermediate] and long—on *chu gtor*

gdan bzhi pa'i?

⁵⁰⁰ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 2-16; the other two works on consecration included in the RZSB—nos. 2-17 and 2-18—are not mentioned in this list.

⁵⁰¹ The only work in the RZSB directly dealing with Heruka is *Che mchog sgom bstod*; see the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 1-11.

⁵⁰² See also 5.3.12.

⁵⁰³ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 1-10. The text says that there exist thirteen such texts which were written for Se-'bro dBang-phyug-rgya-mtsho (see *ibid.*, the incipit).

⁵⁰⁴ There is only one work on this subject included in the RZSB which describes the ritual of creating *sa tsha* (see the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 1-8). Since this work deals with the method of the *Vajrasattva Illusionary Net*, the text mentioned in this list (see no. 5.3.18.6.) might refer to this work.

⁵⁰⁵ The *rNam thar* mentions (fol. 333a) a text called *mNgon spyod kyi tsha tsha* which might refer to this work (compare with the term *drag po'i mngon spyod kyi las*). This work was annexed to text no. 2-8. See the list of contents to this text in the *Descriptive Catalogue*.

- 5.3.20. *Klu'i gdon la gtor ma sbyin pa*
 5.3.21. *Klu mchod bzlog*
 5.3.22. *gTor ma cha gsum*
 5.3.23. Three works—short, [intermediate] and long—on the Golden Drink Offering (*gser skyems*)
 5.3.24. *bDen pa dar*
 5.3.25. Two works—short and long—on *sa bdag phag gi bum gter*
 5.3.26. *Ngan song sbyong ba'i las 'grel*
 5.3.27. *Las kyi gshin rje la bsgrub bya gtad pa*
 5.3.28. *gShin rje'i bka' 'khor du gtogs pa lo ka tri gyi pho 'dre dang mo 'dre thams cad la bsgrub bya bsad pa'i las bcol ba'i las byang chen po*
 5.3.29. Three works—short, [intermediate] and long—on *bsgrub bya lha dang dbye ba'i las*
 5.3.30. Twenty-seven various minor and major works such as *Phrin las phur bu'i gdab las*
 5.3.31. *mThu byas pa la sgrib par mi 'gyur ba'i yi ge* written for Hung-snying
 5.3.32. *bsTan ma'i bsgrub pa*
 5.3.33. *'Jam dpal sngags don gyi ga'u*
 5.3.34. Seventeen various works such as *'khor lo(?)*, and many other works
6. Works regarding the three levels: foundation, path and fruit (*gzhi lam 'bras bu gsum*) :
- 6.1. Works on the foundation (*gzhi*) which are further divided into two groups:
- 6.1.1. Works on the foundation of the appearances (*snang gzhi*):
- 6.1.1.1. *Tshul bzhi yan lag bco lnga pa'i gzhung khong bkra ba*, a commentary which establishes the foundation of the appearances⁵⁰⁶
 6.1.1.2. The entire (*stod smad*) [commentary on Padmasambhava's] *lTa 'phreng*⁵⁰⁷
 6.1.1.3. Two works—short and long—on the tenet systems (*grub mtha*)⁵⁰⁸
 6.1.1.4. The first part (*stod*) of both his short and long Memorandum of the View (*lta ba'i brjed byang*)⁵⁰⁹
 6.1.1.5. Numerous works on the characteristics of the external world and its inhabitants (*snod bcud kyi 'jig rten gyi mtshan nyid*)
 6.1.1.6. [Two works]—short and long—on *byin gri*
 6.1.1.7. Numerous treatises on grammar (*sgra'i bstan bcos*)
 6.1.1.8. *sMra sgo'i 'grel pa*⁵¹⁰
 6.1.1.9. *gNas brgyad kyi 'grel pa*
 6.1.1.10. *Chung ngu'i 'grel pa*
 6.1.1.11. *rTags 'jug don 'grel*

⁵⁰⁶ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 1-3 and also this list, no. 1.1.

⁵⁰⁷ Rong-pa Me-dpung classifies this commentary into two categories: here the entire text is classified into the category of works on the foundation of the appearances (*snang gzhi*) and below (see 6.1.2.8.) he classifies only the second part of the text into the category of works on the foundation of the truth (*bden gzhi*); see the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 1-5.

⁵⁰⁸ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, nos. 2-8 and 2-19; these works may also fall into the category of works which deal with the special features of the various Vehicles (see this list, no. 7.1.)

⁵⁰⁹ The RZSB includes only the long work which is twenty-two folios in length (see the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 2-3). There is no mention either in Rong-pa Me-dpung's list or elsewhere of the second parts of these works.

⁵¹⁰ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 3-4.

- 6.1.1.12. *mTshams sbyor rab dbye*
- 6.1.1.13. *sNgags bklag pa*, and many other works; most of the treatises on grammar were written for Mar-pa Chos-grags
- 6.1.2. Works on the foundation of the truth (*bden gzhi*):⁵¹¹
 - 6.1.2.1. [Two works]—short and long—on *nyan thos kyi mthong sgom*
 - 6.1.2.2. [Two works]—short and long—on *rang rgyal gyi rten 'brel*
 - 6.1.2.3. *Sems tsam gyi ngo bo nyid gsum pa*
 - 6.1.2.4. *rNam bcas rnam med*
 - 6.1.2.5. *dBu ma'i bden pa gnyis*
 - 6.1.2.6. *sGyu ma lta bu*
 - 6.1.2.7. *Rab tu shin tu mi gnas pa'i yi ge*, and many other works
 - 6.1.2.8. The second part (*stod*) of the commentary on Padmasambhava's *lTa phreng*⁵¹²
 - 6.1.2.9. *Byis pa chos kyi sgor 'jug*
 - 6.1.2.10. *mThar thug gsum gyi man ngag*
 - 6.1.2.11. *sBrul nag po'i stong thun*⁵¹³
 - 6.1.2.12. Numerous instructions (*gdams pa*) regarding the Great Perfection
 - 6.1.2.13. *Bya mun pa gtugs la sogs gcig zung gnyis bzlog lugs gsum*
 - 6.1.2.14. Seven minor and major works on *lha'i rnal 'byor du mnyam par bzhag pa'i bsgom lung*
- 6.2. Works on the path (*lam*):⁵¹⁴
 - 6.2.1. Two works—short and long—on the stages of the path (*lam rim*)
- 6.3. Works on the fruit (*'bras bu*):
 - 6.3.1. Seven short and long works on the stage of Buddha[hood] (*sang rgyas kyi sa*),⁵¹⁵ and many others [unspecified works]
- 7. Works teaching the common and the special features (*thun mong khyad par*):
 - 7.1. Seven short and long works on the differences /special feature of the Vehicles (*theg pa'i khyad par*),⁵¹⁶ etc.
 - 7.2. Four long and short works on special religious terminology (*chos skad thun min*)
 - 7.3. Four long and short works on the Self-arisen Primordial Gnosis (*rang byung gi ye shes*)⁵¹⁷
 - 7.4. Seven minor and major works on the establishment of the appearances as deity (*snang ba lhar sgrub*),⁵¹⁸ etc.

⁵¹¹ This term is most probably identical with the term *bden pa gnyis kyi dbye gzhi*, which means the common basis upon which the two truths are differentiated, although the term *gzhi* in the latter is not always interpreted in the context of the term *gzhi lam 'bras bu*. The RZSB does not include separate works on each tenet system but rather only works which give an overview of the tenet systems in a comparative way. A work which may fall into this category could be, for example, *bDen gnyis 'jog tshul* (see text no. 2-4 in the *Descriptive Catalogue*).

⁵¹² See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 1-5, paragraph no. 3.ff.; see also no. 6.1.1.2. in this list.

⁵¹³ See the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 2-9.

⁵¹⁴ The only work in the RZSB which explicitly deals with the path is that on the characteristics of the path of the Mantrayāna; see the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 2-7.

⁵¹⁵ The RZSB includes only one work on this matter; see the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 2-10.

⁵¹⁶ There are several works included in the RZSB which might, entirely or partly, fall into this category; see, for example, the *Descriptive Catalogue*, nos. 2-5 and 2-8.

⁵¹⁷ There is only one work on this topic included in the RZSB; see the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 2-15.

Appendix B: Works Translated by Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po

There are several works in the *bKa'* 'gyur and *bsTan* 'gyur of which the translator is indicated as Chos-kyi-bzang-po. Since there were several other translators with this name, e.g. dPyal Chos-kyi-bzang-po, it is difficult to say for sure which one is meant in each case. The taking into consideration of the working circle of these translators, i.e. the Indian Paṇḍitas and the Tibetan translators they worked with, and also of the other literature known to have been translated by them (due to the fact that they normally translated texts related to certain topics in which they were learned) may help in identifying the translators. According to the various biographical sources, Rong-zom-pa worked with the Indian Paṇḍitas Mañjuśrīvarma, Mañjuśrījñāna, Upāyaśrīmitra, Buddhākarabhadra, Devākaracandra, Parameśvara and Amoghavajra (or Aśokavajra). It seems that this method for identifying translators has also been employed by Tibetan editors. The Tibetan translator of T 1319 and 1982, for example, is indicated in the Peking edition only with the name Chos-kyi-bzang-po, but in the Derge edition the name Rong-zom is added, most probably on account of the mention of the Indian Paṇḍita Mañjuśrījñāna together with whom the text was translated and who is known to have worked with Rong-zom-pa. In the same manner, also in T 1922 and 2014, it would seem that Rong-zom-pa is identified as the translator by reliance on the names Parameśvara and Upāyaśrīmitra respectively (see also Karmay 1988, p. 125, note 19). Here I present an incomplete list of works translated by Rong-zom-pa as appears in the sDe-dge edition of the Tibetan canon and as mentioned in Rong-zom-pa's biographies and other Tibetan literature.

Works of which the translator is indicated as Rong-zom-pa:

This list is incomplete and is mainly based on the Tōhoku catalogue of the sDe-dge edition of the Tibetan canon, on Lalou's index to Cordier's catalogue and on the Tibetan sources used for this thesis.

Kye'i rdo rje'i sgrub pa'i thabs / Hevajrasādhana (T 1301: Rong-zom Dharmabhadra and Mañjuśrījñāna; Cordier: XXII 13)

rKyen gsum bshad pa / Tripratyaabhāṣya (T 4432: Rong-zom Chos-bzang; Cordier: CXXXII 13; according to Verhagen 1994, p. 46, this work was translated by Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po and his disciple Go-rub Lo-tsa-ba Chos-kyi-shes-rab)

⁵¹⁸ There is only one work on this topic included in the RZSB; see the *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 2-2.

Khro bo rnam par rgyal ba'i rtog pa gsang ba'i rgyud / Krodhavijayakalpagaḥyatantra (T 604: revised by Rong-zom Chos-bzang; also mentioned by Mi-pham and Ngor-chen; see this work, p. 89)

'Jam dpal gsang ldan (dKar chag, p. 10) (T 2599: translators indicated as Dharmasrīmitra and Chos-kyi-bzang-po; for full title, see note 251)

bDe mchog rtsa rgyud (dKar chag, p. 10, rNam thar, fol. 334a) (T 368?: translators indicated as Padmākara and Rin-chen-bzang-po; cf. note 252)

rDo rje 'jigs byed (dKar chad, p. 10) (unidentified).

dPal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi bshad pa'i rgyud rtog pa gsum pa (dPal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi rgyud kyi rgyal po / Śrī-vajrabhairava-tantrarāja) (*dKar chag, p. 10; rNam thar, fol. 334a; T 469: translator unknown; manuscript reproduced in A-ko'i-dgon-pa bDe-chen-lhun-grub-gling by rGyud-grwa'i-bla-ma dBu-mdzad-zur-ba sNgags-rams-pa Thogs-med: translated and edited together with the Indian preceptor U-ya-ma-dra (Upāyaśrīmitra?)*)

dPal rdo rje 'jigs byed sgrub pa'i thabs dang las bya ba'i cho ga sems dpa' bsdus pa / Śrī-Vajrabhairavasādhana-karmopacārasattvasaṃgraha (T 1982: revised by Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po, Phyug-mtshams-dbang-phyug-rgyal-po and Mañjuśrījñāna; Cordier: XLIII 63)

dPal gshin rje gshed po'i rtsa ba'i sngags don rdo rje rab tu 'byed pa zhes bya ba / Śrī-Yamāntakavajraprabheda-nāma-mūlamantrārtha (T 2014: Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po and Upāyaśrīmitra; Cordier: XLIII 90; *rNam thar, fol. 334a ('Jam dpal sngags don); dKar chag, p. 10 (sNgags don rdo rje rab 'byed)*)

sPyan ras gzigs padma cod pan gyi rgyud le'u bcu gcig pa (Ngor-chen's *bKa' 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag bstan pa gsal ba'i sgron me, p. 346, leaf 35)*

Myur mdzad ma'i sgrub thabs / Kurukullesādhana (T 1319: Rong-zom Chos-bzang and Mañjuśrījñāna; Cordier: XXII 32)

sMra ba'i sgo mtshon cha lta bu zhes bya ba'i 'grel pa / Vacanamukhāyudhopama-nāma-vṛtti (Cordier: CXVI 19; T 4296: translator unknown)

gShin rje dgra nag po'i rgyud kyi dka' 'grel / Kṛṣṇayamāritantrapañjikā (T 1922: Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po and Parameśvara; Cordier: XLII 6; *rNam thar, fol. 334a)*

gShin rje gshed dra nag gi rgyud (dKar chag, p. 10) (T 467: translators indicated as Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna and Tshul-khrims rgyal ba; for full title, see note 250)

Works of which the translator is indicated as Chos-kyi-bzang-po:

The list is based on the Tōhoku catalogue and arranged according to the Indian paṇḍitas with whom the texts were translated.

Ānandakara: T 1560.

Devapuṇyamati: T: 2686.

Devapūrṇamati: T 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2934, 2935, 2936.

Dharmaśrīmitra: T 631, 701, 726, 2536, 2537, 2599, 2601, 2602, 2607, 2608, 2609.

Dharmataśīla: T 963.

Jabari-pa and Devapūrṇamati: 2147.

Niṣkalaṅka: T 1436, 2033, 2034.

Skalaṅka: T 1561.

No Indian paṇḍitas are mentioned: T 2611, 2933.

Revised by Chos-kyi-bzang-po: T 1198, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154.

Appendix C: List of Abbridged Titles of the Works Included in *Rong-zom's Collected Writings*

sKu bstod Text No. 3-D
Khog chung Text No. 1-2
Khog 'bring Text No. 1-1
Khro dkyil Text No. 1-7
Grub mtha'i brjed byang Text No. 2-19
rGyud spyi'i dngos po Text No. 2-11
sNgags lam mtshan nyid Text No. 2-7
bCa' yig Text No. 3-3
Che mchog sgom bstod Text No. 1-11
mChod bsgral Text No. 2-6
mChod rten gdab pa Text No. 1-9
mNyam spyor 'grel Text No. 3-1
sNying ſi kra Text No. 1-3
lTa phreng 'grel Text No. 1-5
lTa ba'i brjed byang Text No. 2-3
Theg pa'i bye brag Text No. 2-5
Theg tshul Text No. 2-1
Dam tshig Text No. 3-2
Dam tshig gnang bkag Text No. 2-13
gDung bsreg Text No. 1-10
bDen gnyis 'jog tshul Text No. 2-4
mDo sngags grub bsdus Text No. 2-8
rNam grangs Text No. 3-A
rNam thar Text No. 3-B
Bla rnal Text No. 3-C
dBang don bsdus pa Text No. 2-12
sBrul nag stong thun Text No. 2-9
Man ngag lta 'phreng Text No. 1-4
sMra sgo 'grel Text No. 3-4
mTshan brjod 'grel Text No. 1-6
Zhi khro'i sngags Text No. 1-12
bZlas brjod bya thabs Text No. 2-14
Rang byung ye shes Text No. 2-15
Rab gnas cho ga Text No. 2-18
Rab gnas rtsa ba Text No. 2-16
Rab gnas bshad sbyar Text No. 2-17
Rong zom dkar chag Text No. 1-A
Sa tstsha Text No. 1-8
Sangs sa Text No. 2-10
lHar bsgrub Text No. 2-2

Appendix D: Editions of Rong-zom's Works

1. The first rDzogs chen/Śrī Seng edition of *Rong zom gsung 'bum* consists of two volumes⁵¹⁹
2. A three-volume(?) sDe-dge edition(?) of *Rong zom gsung 'bum* (cf. the introduction, p. 20)
3. The second rDzogs-chen/Shrī-seng edition of *Rong zom gsung 'bum* consists of three volumes⁵²⁰
4. Yeshe De Project edition of *Rong zom gsung 'bum*; this edition was reproduced in its greater part from the second rDzogs-chen edition and includes the complete three volumes.
5. *Selected Writings (gSun thor bu) of Roñ-zom Cho-kyi-bzang-po*. Leh, 'Khor-gdon Gter-sprul 'Chi-med-rig-'dzin, 1974. Reproduced from a manuscript made presumably from the dPal-spungs (a bka' brgyud monastery in sde-dge; dpal spungs si tu) prints. Includes: 1. *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba* 2. *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba zhes bya ba'i 'grel pa* 3. *gSang sngags rdo rje theg pa'i tshul las snang ba lhar bsgrub pa* 4. *Dam bca'* 5. *lTa ba'i brjed byang* 6. *mTshan yang dag par brjed pa'i 'grel rnam gsum bshad pa* 7. *lTa ba dang grub mtha' sna tshogs pa brjed byang du bgyis pa*
6. *Rong zom bka' 'bum*. A collection of writings by the Rñin-ma-pa master Roñ-zom Chos-kyi-bzan-po. Thimphu, Kunsang Topgay, 1976. Reproduced from a copy of an incomplete print from the Ze-chen blocks. Includes: 1. Mi-pham's *Rong zom gsung 'bum dkar chag me tog phreng ba* 2. *Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa* 3. *gSang sngag rdo rje theg pa'i tshul las snang ba lhar bsgrub pa* 4. *gSung thor bu*; the first 24 folios are missing.

⁵¹⁹ For detailed list, see Mi-pham's *Dkar-chag* translated in this work.

⁵²⁰ For detailed list, see the *Descriptive Catalogue* in this work.

Appendix E: Rong-zom-pa's Transmission Lineages⁵²¹

Padmasambhava's lineage known as the sNa-nam or the Rong tradition:⁵²²

1. sNa-nam rDo-je-bdud-'joms
2. mKhar-chen dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug
3. Dom A-tsa-ra dPal Me-tog-sgro
4. rDo-rje-gzhon-nu
5. Zhang-zhung Yon-tan-grags
6. Rong-ban Yon-tan-rin-chen (also known as dPal-gyi-rin-chen)
7. Rong-ban Rin-chen-tshul-khrims
8. Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po

Vairocana's lineage—one of the lineages of the Mind Class (*sems sde*):

1. gYu-sgra-snying-po
2. bLa-chen-po gGongs-pa-gsal
3. Grum-shing-gla-can
4. sNubs dPa'-brtan
5. Ya-zi Bon-ston
6. Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po

The lineage of the Great Perfection according to the Khams method:

1. The ascetic A-ro Ye-shes-'byung-gnas of lDan gLong-thang-sgron-ma⁵²³
2. Cog-ro Zangs-dkar-mdzod-khur
3. Ya-zi Bon-ston
4. Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po

The Lineage of the Esoteric Instruction of Vimalamitra:

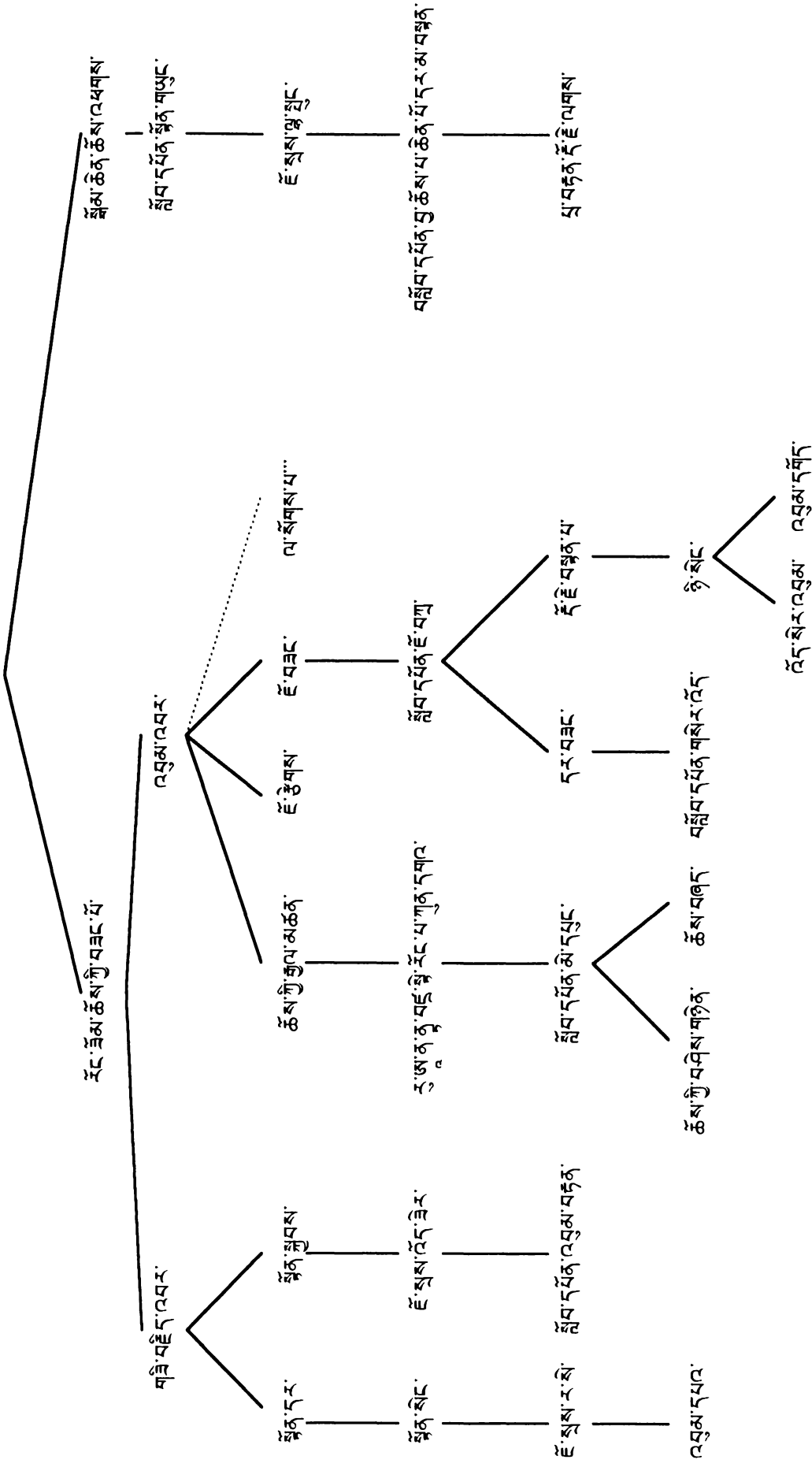
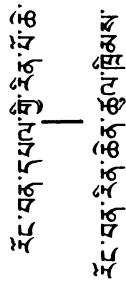
1. Instruction given to
 - 1.1. Nyang Ting-'dzin-bzang-po and to
 - 1.2. rMa Rin-chen-mchog and gNyags Jñānakumāra; These two were passed down to
2. Khu Byang-chub-'od
3. 'Khyung-po dByig-'od
-and gradually to Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po

⁵²¹ Cf. Roerich pp. 166-167; NSTB Vol. 1, pp. 706-707 and *rTogs brjod*, p. 147.

⁵²² According to the *rTogs brjod* (p. 147), this is the lineage of the instruction of Mātaraḥ, Yamāntaka and Vajrakīla (*ma gshin phur pa'i gdam pa*). According to Karmay 1988 (p. 125, note 23), some rNying-ma sources (such as rGyal-sras Thugs-mchog-rtsal's *Chos 'byung rin po che'i gter mdzod*, fol. 256) refers to the transmission of the teachings which began with gNyags Jñānakumāra passing through Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes and gNubs Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes as Rong-lugs (see the *Blue Annals*, pp. 135 and 137-8), while some other sources (such as Kong-sprul Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho's *Shes bya kun khyab*, p. 495 and Zhe-chen rGyal-tshab Padma-rnam-rgyal's *Legs bshad padma dkar po'i rdzang bu*, p. 196) relate the term Rong-lugs to Rong-zom-pa himself. The latter, says Karmay, seems more plausible.

⁵²³ A-ro Ye-shes-'byung-gnas was very important figure in the transmission of the Great Perfection. He possessed the secret precepts of the seven successive masters of the Indian lineage as well of the Chinese lineage of Hwa-shang. For his biography see the *Blue Annals* pp. 999-1001.

Appendix F: Rong-zom's Family Lineage *



*According to the lineage given in the *rNam thar* (RZSB Vol. 3-B, fol. 366a₃ff.) (also included in the *Blue Annals*, pp. 165-6).

An das

Prüfungsamt 1

Ich versichere an Eides Statt durch meine eigene Unterschrift, daß ich die vorstehende Arbeit selbständig und ohne fremde Hilfe angefertigt und alle Stellen, die wörtlich oder annähernd wörtlich aus Veröffentlichungen entnommen sind, als solche kenntlich gemacht und mich auch keiner anderen als der angegebenen Literatur bedient habe. Diese Versicherung bezieht sich auch auf die in der Arbeit gelieferten Zeichnungen, Skizzen, bildlichen Darstellungen und desgleichen. Mit der späteren Einsichtnahme in meine schriftliche Hausarbeit erkläre ich mich einverstanden.

21.07.97

(Orna Almogi)

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Orna Almogi', written in a cursive style.